

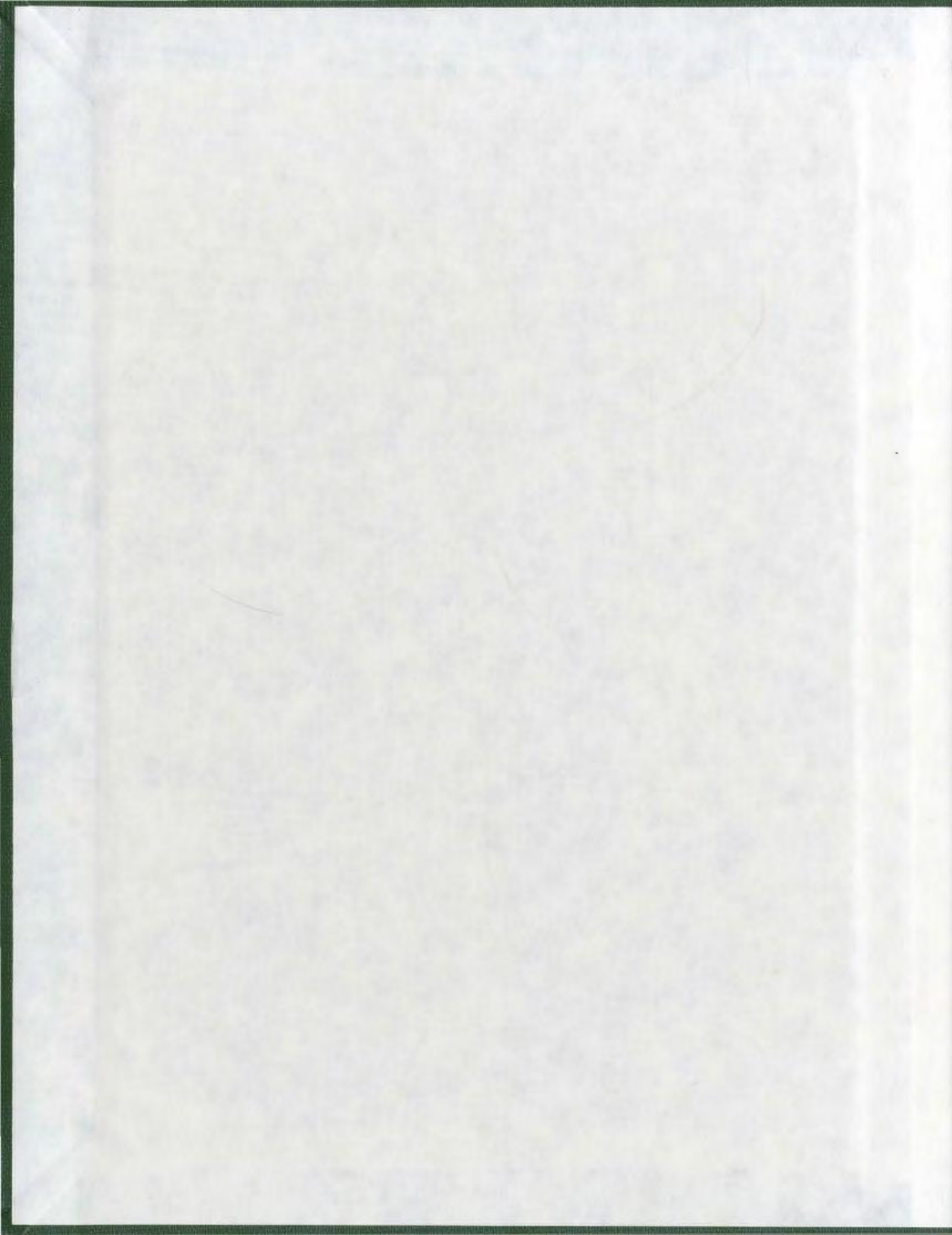
SOME PATTERNS IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF
NEWFOUNDLAND EDUCATION, 1578-1836

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

**TOTAL OF 10 PAGES ONLY
MAY BE XEROXED**

(Without Author's Permission)

JO OPPENHEIMER



C37476



CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE

I.S.B.N.

THESES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE



National Library of Canada
Collections Development Branch

Canadian Theses on
Microfiche Service

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction du développement des collections

Service des thèses canadiennes
sur microfiche

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us a poor photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de mauvaise qualité.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formulés d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

SOME PATTERNS IN THE EARLY HISTORY
OF NEWFOUNDLAND EDUCATION, 1578 - 1836

by

© Jo Oppenheimer, B.A.

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Education

Department of Educational Foundations
Memorial University of Newfoundland
September 1982

St. John's

Newfoundland

ABSTRACT

This thesis studies Newfoundland educational patterns that existed between the late sixteenth century and the early nineteenth century, the period from Sir Humphrey Gilbert's first landing and the first government education act. It challenges earlier works that claim that there was little or no educational activity in Newfoundland until the late eighteenth century or even the early nineteenth century. It also refutes the argument that Newfoundlanders were uncivilized and akin to savages before religious and/or government sponsored education was established.

The period studied has been divided into three sections, each relating to approximately one century. The first period was determined to be an era dominated by the Christian church - both Protestant and Roman Catholic - during which the lives of people were controlled by the church and knit together by trade relationships. While society in Newfoundland was quite unstable, education in Newfoundland reflected the traditional patterns of church education, apprenticeship and naval training.

The eighteenth century was discovered to be a time when the church was losing its pervasive control and society was in transition to a new world order. English settlement was firmly established in Newfoundland and education exhibited the transition characteristics of the new missionary movement of the Church of England and increased activity in apprenticeship and naval training.

The early nineteenth century saw the emergence of the middle-class as the controlling force of the new world order. The pattern of education which was just emerging in the eighteenth century - schooling - grew in importance while apprenticeship and naval training declined. Religious education took second place to the more important economic oriented education. Societies -

charity, religious and school - sponsored education as did private enterprise, until the Newfoundland government passed the education act in 1836 which provided funds to ensure the financial security of the schools established by the societies and made available schooling in areas which heretofore had no formal education.

The result of pairing educational events with political, economic and social history has confirmed the premise that the content of education depends upon who controls society. The early history of Newfoundland education was, therefore, directly related to the dominant trends in its general history.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Foremost I would like to thank Dr. W.P. McCann for his time and suggestions. While we have not always agreed, his efforts to see the project through and to give encouragement and direction have been without end.

I would further like to express my gratitude to the librarians of both the education library and the Henrietta Harvey Library, especially Marlon Barnett, Karen Lippold, Nancy Grenville and Millicent Bradbury, without whose help I could never have done this work; to Dr. W.G. Hancock who made available his unpublished work and notes; to Dr. A. Singh, Dr. W. Martin, Dr. M. Jackson, Dr. A. Prentice and Dr. R. Pierson for their guidance and support; to all my friends who have provided the love and moral support necessary for such an undertaking, especially Judith Stamp and Marcie Epstein for their extra help with the mechanics of completing the thesis; and finally to my daughter, Megan, who supplied me with distraction and perspective.

I must also convey my sincere thanks to Dean F. Aldrich and Memorial University for providing two years of fellowship funding.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	viii
Introduction	i
Chapter I : The Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries	6
The Social, Political and Economic Setting	6
Patterns of Education	16
1. Church Education	17
1.1 The Church of England	17
1.2 The Church of Rome	28
2. Apprenticeship	30
3. Naval Training	39
Summary	40
Chapter II : The Eighteenth Century	42
The Social, Political and Economic Setting	42
Patterns of Education	62
1. Church Education	63
1.1 The Church of England	64
1.2 The Methodist Church	69
1.3 The Church of Rome	72
2. Apprenticeship and Naval Training	74
3. Independent Educational Enterprise	81
Summary	83

	Page
Chapter III: The Early Nineteenth Century	85
The Social, Political and Economic Setting	85
Patterns of Education	94
1. Society Supported Education	95
1.1 Charity Society Supported Schools	95
1.2 Religious Society Supported Schools	103
1.3 School Society Supported Schools	106
2. Independent Educational Enterprise	109
2.1 Private Schools	109
2.2 Private Instruction	111
3. Apprenticeship and Naval Training	111
Summary	112
Conclusion	114
Bibliography	120
Appendix A:	129
Appendix B:	130
Appendix C:	132
Appendix D:	136
Appendix E:	149

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 2:1 Distribution of Protestants and Roman Catholics, 1754-1798	55-56
Table 2:2 Occupational Structure of English-Newfoundland Migrants, 1750-1830	60
Table 2:3 Constituents of Wintering Population, 1698-1830	76
Table 2:4 Age Structure of English-Newfoundland Migrants	77
Table 2:5 Age of Dorsetshire Parish Apprentices Serving in Newfoundland	77
Table 3:1 Population of Newfoundland, 1803-1836	91

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 2:1 Newfoundland Population Changes, 1713-1830	54

INTRODUCTION

The history of Newfoundland education begins at least as early as 1578, the year Sir Humphrey Gilbert made his first journey to Newfoundland. Although there were no schools on the island until the mid-eighteenth century, Gilbert and a number of others who were connected to settlement projects as well as the Newfoundlanders, as the migrant fishermen were called, were actively engaged in several distinct patterns of education in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These patterns were directly associated with the two most prominent enterprises in Newfoundland in that era - the fishery and settlement. Due to the inconsistency of these enterprises, the educational patterns similarly exhibited erratic fluctuations. Both the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England were involved in several aspects of Newfoundland education.

In contrast with the previous centuries, the eighteenth century began to exhibit a more consistent and distinct Newfoundland culture as an indigenous society developed. Social conditions changed substantially along with the development of permanent settlement. The dominant educational patterns of the seventeenth century began to take on new characteristics in relation to the changes in society. As Englishmen settled in Newfoundland and elsewhere in the New World, the Church of England required a mission abroad to serve its members and propagate the gospel among the "heathens" of its new empire. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was the official agency through which Anglican ministers, teachers, and reading material were supplied to British North America. Newfoundland was one of the Society's mission fields throughout the eighteenth century and was greatly affected by the Society. In certain geographic areas of

Newfoundland, the Methodist and Roman Catholic clergy created spheres of influence which were also part of the educational development of Newfoundland.

The nineteenth century was clearly the period during which schooling became the dominant means by which children were educated in Newfoundland as well as in England, Canada, and the United States. Private schools and "society" sponsored schools provided an introduction to the basic intellectual skills for many of Newfoundland's children. In 1836 the Colonial Government passed the first Education Act, not in an attempt to provide education for the first time, but rather to assure financial security to the schools already established. The Education Act was also intended to initiate a non-denominational structure on which to build the country's schools; the future, however, was soon to change that.

This thesis studies Newfoundland educational patterns that existed between the late sixteenth century and the early nineteenth century - the period from Gilbert's first landing to the first government education act. There is no claim that it contains all possible information concerning the patterns which are discussed, nor is it claimed to cover all possible patterns of Newfoundland education. It is an attempt to uncover material that has been previously overlooked by other historians.

There have been serious difficulties in many of the earlier studies of Newfoundland education. There has been very little attempt by other historians to include relevant social, economic, and political issues that interacted with the development of education. Since it has been claimed that education is shaped by the forces of society¹, it must be

1. Joel Spring. A Primer of Libertarian Education (Montreal, 1975);

recognized that the omission of social setting prevents any substantial discussion or understanding of educational development. Furthermore, this "narrow-view" historical writing has led to the "one-path-to-progress" view of history. More than simply limiting our understanding of the development of schooling as a form of education, this view has also caused historians to overlook other forms and patterns of education that predominated before schooling, and existed concurrently with it.

In my research I have found that many of the general histories of Newfoundland and the histories of Newfoundland education suffer from errors of negligent scholarship. Many writers have relied on the correctness of the work of others and, by so doing, have repeated the misquotation of documents, dates and figures. More serious, though, has been the widespread perpetuation of myth as historical truth. Professor C. Grant Head states in his book, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, that "it has been popular to assert that the present scattered distribution of population around the island can be attributed to illegality of permanent settlement, and the consequent scattering of the people to small settlements strung along 6,000 miles of coast line in order to escape detection by British naval officers and migratory fishing vessels. This is folk-myth and has not been dispelled by the scholars".²

Similarly, in the context of Newfoundland education, the claim made by the Newfoundland School Society in 1823 that there were "only 16 schools in the island to serve a population of some 70,000 people"³, a claim used

1. S. Bowles and H. Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradiction of Economic Life (New York, 1976); among others.

2. C. G. Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland (Ottawa, 1976), p. xii.

3. Cited in W. P. McCann, The Newfoundland School Society (St. John's,

by the society as propaganda to elicit support in England, has stood as fact in the history of Newfoundland education. This is not so and must therefore be corrected.

Another example of negligence as it relates to the writing of the history of Newfoundland education is in Frederick Rowe's study of education in which he mistakenly inferred from a handful of descriptions made in the early nineteenth century that ignorance and illiteracy were widespread in the eighteenth century and that the living conditions, customs, and manners of the people were "akin to barbarism and savagery".⁴ Although schools were not available in Newfoundland for all children in the eighteenth century, it is incorrect to assume, as Rowe has, that the people were, on the whole, uncivilized.

In order to supplement other studies, I have, in this thesis, investigated the economic, political, and social context of Newfoundland education; I have included as many of the conflicting elements as seemed relevant to the issues in an attempt to avoid a "one-path-to-progress" view; I have used the broader definition of education and have considered educational patterns other than schooling; and I have referred to primary documents wherever possible and have at times been skeptical of other historical studies.

This study, it is hoped, begins to answer the question "What happened in the history of Newfoundland education before the Education Act of 1836?". Moreover, it is also hoped that more questions will be raised in connection with the topics discussed in this thesis and that a more

1972), unpublished typescript, p. 13.

4. F. Rowe. The Development of Education in Newfoundland (Toronto, 1964), pp. 19-25.

critical approach will be taken in future studies of Newfoundland
education of the period after the Education Act of 1836.

CHAPTER 1 - THE LATE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

The Social, Political and Economic Setting.

Life for the common person was, by any standard, difficult. This is not to say that life was without reward or satisfaction, but for the most part, it was composed of endless days of hard work with very little leisure. For the majority of people the only break was the Sabbath day and even that was shortened or eliminated during planting and harvest time.

Pre-industrial society was traditional, meaning that "home" was the site of "work", that "family" were co-workers, and that the "father" or master was the head of the social unit. The family often consisted of a man, his wife, his children, his journeymen, and his servants or apprentices, living together in a rural setting, each family participating in one of a variety of small scale industries which supplied most of the needs of the local population. Although feudal relations had all but disappeared, most people still lived on the land and carried on some subsistence farming; most families were engaged in both agriculture and industry.

The church was the social institution most familiar to the masses. The church was responsible for maintaining the social structure: it provided protection for the family unit, it regulated the laws of social behaviour, and it looked after the physical as well as spiritual well-being of the people. Moreover, it was the only place where people could communicate with others outside the home or market, and very significantly, it served as the only means of communication between the family unit and the government, and the family unit and the world beyond the parish. In these several ways the church served as the educator of the masses. In some European countries education also occurred within the formal structure

1. P. Laslett, The World We Have Lost (London, 1971), pp. 1-22.

of schools, in others solely within the church; in most, it was a combination of the two.

During the course of the seventeenth century, however, society began moving away from this traditional pattern. Very gradually changes took place in the social structure which resulted in the collapse of the traditional way of life. During this era of social transformation, the New World was used by the European nations in a variety of ways to suit their needs and changing attitudes. Newfoundland was no exception.²

Since the late fifteenth century Newfoundland had been the site of the annual fishery for England and western Europe; it supplied almost all the fish which was a staple of the European diet. Up until the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the Newfoundland fishery had been shared by all the fishermen, but at that point England claimed Newfoundland as part of a new plan to shore up her failing economy and to check the growing power of Spain.

The Church of England during the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods was very much behind a plan to secure for England an overseas empire. The first phase of Newfoundland settlement, between 1578 and 1629, was a direct result of the campaign promoted by the Church of England. Settlement in Newfoundland, however, was not universally accepted by the English. The West Country fishermen continually challenged it throughout the seventeenth century and the early attempts at settlement were thwarted by actions taken by the West Countrymen.

Government intervention in trade and the fishery before 1630 had

2. K. Matthews. Lectures on the History of Newfoundland 1500-1830 (St. John's, 1973), Lecture V, p. 2.

been rejected by both the merchants who sponsored the settlers and the fishermen as interference and a restriction of their freedom. Several attempts had been made, however, by the British government to put an end to the disputes, but all in all, very little was done to restrict or control any phase of the overseas enterprise. After 1630, the general attitude of the governments changed.

After that date governments became progressively more active in their attempts to find and enforce a commercial policy which would reconcile the conflicting interests of a free fishery and a free trade, the side supported by the West Countrymen, and a regulated trade called for by the London merchants and the House of Lords. The first round was won by the West Countrymen when their position was given apparent support by the passage of the Western Charter of 1634 which laid out regulations regarding the behaviour of fishermen and masters in Newfoundland. The effectiveness of the control provided by the charter is, however, questionable and furthermore still lacked two major necessities: first, a resolution of the differences held by the fishermen and planters and second, an authority on the island with power over both the fishermen and the planters.

The arrival of Sir David Kirke and 100 settlers in 1638 marked the beginning of the second phase of Newfoundland settlement, one in which there was an indication that the government intended to intervene in and control Newfoundland affairs. The restrictive patent given to the Kirke group reflected the new favourable position held by the West Countrymen and the greater commitment on the part of the British government to protect the fishery.

By 1640 Kirke, against the intentions of the West Country fishermen, had established his own independence: he ignored some of the restrictions of the grant; he put into place a very efficient system of collecting a five per cent levy on all fish sold to aliens, a privilege which was granted to him; he introduced a new system of merchant-fishermen relations, the bye-boat system³; he put into effect his promise to buy the surplus fish from the fishermen, which he used in trade for products from the American colonies and the West Indies; and he was maintaining several armed forts along the coast. The outbreak of the civil war in England almost completely interrupted the Newfoundland fishery for the West Country merchants, but for Kirke it was a boon as hundreds of men, trying to escape the war, sought employment as byeboatmen in Newfoundland. During the war the complaints raised against Kirke by the West Countrymen and Cecil Calvert received no response from the government. Indeed the West Country itself had become a battlefield and its ports were under the control of the side in power in that locale.

At the conclusion of the war and throughout the Interregnum, Parliament chose not to honour the preferred status previously shown to the West Countrymen, but instead adopted a new policy which took into consideration only those factors which would benefit English navigation. In 1647 the first Navigation Act was passed prohibiting the transport of the produce of the colonies in foreign bottoms. Largely to check the Dutch who had attained a near monopoly in the carrying of European,

3. The bye-boat system involved the hiring of fishermen for cash wages for the inshore fishery. Previous to this the fishery had all been carried on by ship's crews which came out on a share basis. M. Murray, "Forgotten Ferryland" The Newfoundland Quarterly (St. John's, September 1954), p. 50.

North American and Asian goods, a second Navigation Act was passed in 1651. This further restricted the transport of goods into England to English ships, or, for foreign goods, ships that belonged to the country of export.

After 1651, with some of the more pressing issues out of the way, the Commonwealth government could finally deal with the issue of Newfoundland. A third phase of development in Newfoundland was opened when in 1651 six commissioners were appointed and sent to Newfoundland by a committee of inquiry set up to make a review of the situation. Kirke was removed from the island and in June 1652 new commissioners were sent to Newfoundland, not only to adjudge the state of the fishery, but also to enforce a list of laws regarding the settlers. This move was followed in 1653 by the appointment of John Treworgie as the sole commissioner of Newfoundland, an even more direct move toward central control of the island. This finally gave one person, located on the island, control over the fishermen and the planters. This move supported the policy of settlement and suppressed the former power and independence of the merchants and fishermen; it also rescinded the privileges that had been granted to Kirke. The stronger and more decisive nationalistic policy of the Commonwealth government, for a time, would not permit Newfoundland to be the site of independent free enterprise.

In 1660, with the return of the monarchy, the young commission government of Newfoundland was terminated, yet a complete reversal to the pre-1640 state did not take place. The Western Charter of 1634 and the Navigation Acts of 1647 and 1651 were still in effect and in 1661 the Western Charter was renewed by Charles II with an addendum prohib-

iting the carrying of passengers to the island on fishing ships, a move probably aimed against the bye-boatmen and planters. Cecil Calvert was given permission to resume control of his holdings, which he tried without success to do for two years, 1661-1662, and when he gave up, he left the island without any official to enforce the laws which were still in effect.

Meanwhile France, who throughout the century had been rapidly expanding her territories in North America⁴, began to feel the need to further protect her interests on the mainland and in the Newfoundland fishery. This was partly a reaction to England's growing power and change in colonial policy. In 1662, a ship under the command of Nicholas Gargot, Comte de Plaisance and "governor of the island of Newfoundland"⁵, sailed into the harbour of Great Placentia and landed 30 soldiers and 50 settlers, both men and women, and a priest. Eighteen pieces of ordnance were also landed and set up as defence for French fishing vessels on the Grand Banks and the settlements of New France farther west along the St. Lawrence River basin.

4. Since the middle years of the century, France as well as England had been rising as world powers, as noted by their status at the end of the Thirty Years War and marked by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1659, and by the general efforts of Louis XIV, his Controller General of Finances, Colbert, and his Minister of War, Louvois. It was during this period that the French navy was built to protect an active French sea trade; capitalists were encouraged to create chartered companies for trade purposes and spread their trade network throughout the world; artisans were discouraged from emigrating and were encouraged to build up home industries; the French treasury was stocked with bullion; and the French army was enlarged and effectively trained.

5. A title given him under the Great Seal of France. R. Lahey, "Church Affairs During the French Settlement at Placentia" Mimeographed typescript. (St. John's, 1972), p.2.

Placentia, to the French, was not only a fortification, but was also a permanent settlement meant to have a civil government, a stable economic base, and every amenity of life.⁶ The colony grew despite early difficulties and gradually did become fairly stable. In 1667 a new governor reported a "thriving colony of sixty families of colonists" and a garrison of 150 soldiers. In less than a decade, the French expanded their settlement project in Newfoundland to include the southwest coast; under the governance of Grand Placentia were the smaller French settlements of Little Placentia (Argentia), Point Verde, St. Pierre, Fortune, Grand Banc, Havre Bertrand, Cap Negre, and L'Hermitage.⁷

In 1663 the English government had passed a statute prohibiting the levying of taxes on fish caught by Englishmen. This was a sign that the West Countrymen were once again gaining in their battle to take control of the island. In 1675 this was definitely demonstrated when a proclamation was issued requiring the removal of all inhabitants from the island in response to complaints made by the West Countrymen against the settlers. As captain of the annual convoy, Sir John Berry was the representative of the royal authority, whose duty it was to inform the settlers of this new government decision. During the course of Berry's visit to Newfoundland, he was soon convinced that most of the charges made against the colonists were unjust. In his reports to the Committee for Trades and Plantations, he argued for the support of the inhabitants, very much to the dismay of the West Countrymen and some "official circles" of govern-

6. Lahey, *Ibid.*, p.1.

7. M. McCarthy, "A History of Plaisance and Placentia 1501-1970" (St. John's, 1973), p. 47.

ment. Berry emphasized the fact that the French had over 2,000 settlers and 400 soldiers in Newfoundland and he warned that they would take over the entire fishery if a resident English population were not allowed to remain on the island. As a result of his reports, the settlers were allowed to remain, but it was further decided that no formal governing organization would be made to regulate settlement, settlers, or fishermen. The order of 1677 therefore marked another turning point in government policy, a fourth phase. This time it brought a final end to the West Countrymen's battles against settlement.

This, however, left things in a state of chaos in the English settlements, for there were no controls with which to regulate the fishermen or the settlers other than the rules set down in the Western Charters. As a result, the English colonists decided to press for the appointment of a governor and by 1680 the Committee for Trade and Plantations concluded that a governor should be sent. The action was never taken and no explanation is to be found in the government records.

There seems to have been relative peace between the English and the French on the island during the period between 1662 and 1688, a period of close ties between the two nations at home. However, in 1687, on the eve of the Nine Years War, France began a general build-up of the garrison at Placentia and denied the English permission to settle in any of the French communities. Along with these moves, there was also a growing mistrust of foreign vessels trading in the area and their numbers were being limited by the French.

When the war broke out in Europe in 1688, and the English were forced into it on the side against the French as a result of William III's

ascent to the British throne in 1689, fighting spread to Newfoundland. The English settlers, once again at the butset of the war, requested a governor be sent out, but action was never taken by the British government. On 8 February 1690 a band of about 45 English pirates, not connected with the war, attacked Placentia, "imprisoned its governor and inhabitants and plundered the settlement".⁸ The community was somewhat restored by the "summer" fishermen when they arrived that year, but trouble broke out again in August between the French and the Basque sailors. Again the fort was destroyed and the community remained under the control of the Basques until their departure in September.⁹

The next year the French drove the English out of Trepassey and raided Bay Bulls and Ferryland. On 15 September 1692, the English navy made its first attack on Placentia. After an exchange of cannon fire and an attempted invasion, the English moved from their firing range and after several days, left the area.¹⁰ Following the English attack the French realized that the fort was insufficient for defence and began building "the castle", a new fort, on higher land; they also increased both the military and civilian population.

In 1694 the English successfully staved off the French in another attack on Ferryland, and again in 1696 they managed to hold off the French in two separate attacks on St. John's. Because of these successes and because they thought the French would not attack again that year, the English assumed that they were safe. The situation was quite to the

8. Murray, "Forgotten Ferryland", p.53.

9. McCarthy, "A History", pp. 63-64.

10. McCarthy, Ibid, pp. 65-66.

contrary, in the spring of 1696 Le Moine D'Iberville had received orders from Frontenac, the governor of New France, to destroy the English settlements in Newfoundland. When D'Iberville arrived in Newfoundland with his Canadian soldiers and Indians, they crossed the Avalon on foot from Placentia, razed Ferryland, took Bay Bulls, Renewse and Petty Harbour, and captured and burned St. John's. According to Prowse, the settlers were savagely attacked, many were killed and the rest deported.¹¹ During the winter of 1697 every settlement in Conception and Trinity Bays with the exception of Carbonear, whose residents resisted attack on Carbonear Island, was destroyed by the French and Indians.

The news of the destruction of Newfoundland spurred the British to dispatch a large squadron in 1697 to recapture the island. When they arrived in St. John's, they found the town totally abandoned. The English population had been almost entirely destroyed. St. John's and Ferryland had lost most of the families who had resided there. Many settlers from Conception Bay took up residence on the islands of that bay.

It was at this point that the English government finally began to realize that there was a great need to make and enforce a coherent policy towards Newfoundland and the fishery, one that would fit into an overall national trade policy. The solution that was implemented, however, was based on the conclusion that a limited settlement without government would give maximum freedom to the migratory fishery and at the same time protect it. This policy, though, did not yield the desired results.

¹¹ D. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland from the English Colonial and Foreign Records (London, 1895; reprinted 1971), pp. 216-218.

The Act of William III, ^{11a} implemented in 1699, formed the basis of British policy toward Newfoundland for the entire eighteenth century. Because the provisions were unworkable, they were disregarded by the Newfoundlanders, fishermen and settlers alike, and the situation developed where the Newfoundland fishery and settlement, essentially free from any government control, were left entirely in the hands of the fishing merchants and those who chose to settle in Newfoundland during the eighteenth century.

The French, on the other hand, rebuilt Placentia little by little between 1690 and 1700. As a gesture of confidence in the fishery, the French government authorized 20,000 livres per year after 1703 for work on the fortifications. Support of the project declined, as did the work after 1710, but the French maintained a constant settlement in the community until 1714, a year after the Treaty of Utrecht was signed, and the war was officially ended.

Patterns of Education.

Education in Newfoundland for the English settlers followed three distinct patterns: church education, apprenticeship and naval training. The battles between the fishermen and the settlers affected all three patterns, although somewhat indirectly, since they were all dependent upon both the fishery and settlement. The fishing and settlement projects

^{11a}. See Appendix A.

involved a varying number of people each year and thereby caused the inconsistency of the educational patterns: the structure of the patterns, however, remained highly consistent throughout the century. The French educational pattern was entirely consistent as it was solely dependent on the Roman Catholic church that had established its presence along with the first settlement in 1662.

1. Church Education

1.1 The Church of England

The Church of England can be said to have been the educator of the people at three levels beyond that of its formal liturgical one. First, it provided schools, set curriculum, and regulated the employment of teachers. Second, it established and promoted national and international policies. Third, it was instrumental in directing social behaviour.

C. Thompson, in his study of schools in Tudor England, points out a very significant factor of English education when he states that "no English school at any time in the sixteenth century was exempt from ecclesiastical supervision" and that "until the middle of the seventeenth century the Church had almost a monopoly of formal education. . . ."¹² The Queen's injunctions of 1559 insured that only Anglicans would be permitted to teach by requiring that all who wished to teach secure a bishop's license which could only be granted to those whose "learning and dexterity in teaching", "sober and honest conversation" and "right understanding of God's true religion" met with the bishop's approval. The requirement that all school masters take the oath of supremacy, thus ensuring that only Anglicans would be allowed to teach, was effected by an Act of

12. C. Thompson, "Schools in Tudor England", Life and Letters in Tudor and Stuart England, L. Wright and V. LaMar, editors (Ithaca, New York, 1962), p. 292.

Parliament in 1563. Again the policy was strengthened by the Canons of 1571 which repeated the necessity of a bishop's license for all school masters and the 1580 law which prohibited the keeping of an unqualified master and set heavy fines and imprisonment as punishments for doing so.¹³

The underlying principles behind the Church of England's control of education was the notion propounded by Luther and Calvin that the minds of the young must be captured in order to advance Protestantism and the Protestant doctrine which demanded that the individual "search the scriptures". The former resulted in a literate laity and the latter required it as well as a learned ministry.

Education, therefore, for most children in England began at the age of four with the learning of the "ABC with the Catechism" at a local "petty school" followed by the "Primer", a book of devotion containing some of the liturgical offices, Psalms, and litanies.¹⁴ Boys and girls were educated together at the elementary level and, although there are no figures to indicate how many attended school, it is thought that most children, except those from the lowest levels of society, had some form of basic education.¹⁵

After two or three years of petty school, the more promising boys went on to the study of Latin in the grammar school, the second level of formal education which included almost exclusively the study of Latin and sometimes Greek or Hebrew, and the girls continued their education at home. Again there are no figures for the number of children involved, but a

13. J. Lawson, Medieval Education and the Reformation (London, 1967), pp. 90-92.

14. Thompson, "Schools in Tudor England", pp. 295-296.

15. J. Simon, Education and Society in Tudor England (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 91-98; pp. 302-316.

description of England written in 1577 stated "there are not many corporate towns now under the Queen's dominion that have not one grammar school at least. . . ." and evidence suggests that in 1575 there were approximately 360 grammar schools that according to Thompson "except for small entrance fees, . . . were free to all who qualified for admission . . ." ¹⁶ and were, therefore, accessible to boys from all but the poorest families. With the increase of Dissenters in business at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the number of endowed grammar schools grew substantially until the Restoration in 1660. Although there were drastic changes within Anglican institutions after 1660, the number of grammar schools remained high in proportion to the population to the end of the century.

Most of the boys who attended grammar school left before they completed the seven year programme, to be apprenticed to a trade. Those who remained would, at the age of fourteen or fifteen, pass on to either Cambridge or Oxford, or go abroad to study theology, law or medicine. During the seventeenth century, it has been estimated, no more than a total of 3,000 students were in attendance at the two universities in England at any one time. For the major portion of the population, therefore, apprenticeship was the most common form of education for both boys and girls after the elementary level of school and for a large proportion of those who had been to grammar school. Laslett has estimated that between a quarter and a third of all families in England, "humble as well as the wealthy", had apprentices or servants as they were commonly called. ¹⁷

16. Thompson, "Schools in Tudor England", p. 294.

17. Laslett, The World we have lost, p. 13.

Most of the servants were engaged in working the land, but many were contracted to the head of a family, a master, to learn a trade or craft. For those who became apprentices as well as those who went on to university, the church would have had control over their schooling. As we shall soon see, apprenticeship was a major pattern of education for those who journeyed to Newfoundland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Since apprenticeship was part of a larger social pattern of education, however, it must be presumed that the apprentices who were in Newfoundland had received some schooling in England before they migrated or immigrated to Newfoundland and that the schooling they had would have been under the control of the Church of England.

Beyond schooling, the church actively engaged in the establishment and promotion of national and international policies. In order to understand this function of the church it is first necessary to point out that it is difficult to make a clear distinction between the clergy and the government during the period before 1650 since many government officials had degrees in theology (at least one third of the members of the House of Lords were bishops before 1649) and many of the bishops acted as advisors to government in a variety of other capacities.¹⁸ At the national and international level, the Church of England, or perhaps it is more correct to say its clergy, were very much involved with the establishment and promotion of a plan for an Anglican empire in the New World. Preachers of the late Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, according to

18. The clergy, in general, held a privileged position in society. They were, for example, exempt from all taxes and as well received special revenue grants from Parliament. It was not until after the Interregnum that the status of the bishops diminished.

Wright, "were keenly aware of the necessity of checkmating Spain, and they waged an incessant campaign to arouse the English nation to awareness of the danger that threatened it."¹⁹ At the time, Queen Elizabeth I was maintaining a delicate diplomatic balance in the midst of the power struggle between Protestant and Catholic forces. The dominance of Spain and Portugal in the New World and Spain's rapidly increasing wealth and great power created the situation in which England feared the possibility of a Catholic conquest of the western world. In the light of the fact that England had been experiencing constant internal religious turbulence since 1531 it was crucial to stabilize the Church of England. This could be accomplished, it was thought, by securing for England and the Church an overseas "empire".

In the case of Newfoundland there is no doubt that by the mid-sixteenth century it had been discovered. By that time there were numerous maps, records of journeys to the island, and it is well known that Europe was active in the trade of fish caught in Newfoundland waters by fishermen from England, Ireland, France, Portugal and Spain. When Sir Humphrey Gilbert, John Guy and Captain Richard Whitbourne landed in Newfoundland they had ventured not to discover new lands, nor simply to fish, but to claim it for a specific purpose. That purpose was in small part private enterprise, but for the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, it was undoubtedly part of a plan to strengthen the Protestant cause by weakening the Catholic nations and to develop a Protestant sphere of influence in the New World through colonization.²⁰

19. L. Wright, Religion and Empire (Chapel Hill, 1943), p. iv.

20. Wright, Ibid.

There has been much discussion in the literature on colonization of economic and organizational matters. In some cases this has led us to believe that the only purpose of colonization was economic gain. While it may be true that the merchants were interested in personal gain and the initiators of such ventures used profit as a ploy for support in their campaigns and while the fishery was seen as a means of strengthening the treasury and the economy in general, it is not true that the economic was the only purpose behind colonization. The colonization effort in Newfoundland was due in large measure to the influence of the Church of England and the campaign of the clergymen to inform the public and encourage participation in that effort.

Although the intention of Gilbert's first voyage in 1578 is somewhat ambiguous - since many conflicting statements concerning it exist in letters, papers and official documents - one thing known for certain is that Gilbert was aware of the arguments in favour of English colonization²¹ and, moreover, he was one of a group of men who were advocating such a policy.²²

Whether Gilbert planned to form a colony on his first journey is not clear, but he did have a patent for the foundation of a colony of settlement.²³ He returned to England in 1579 without, however, having made a claim. The intention of his second expedition was more definite; he outlined plans to form a colony²⁴ as part of his stated desire to establish

21. See Appendix A.

22. G. Cell, English Enterprise in Newfoundland 1577-1660 (Toronto, 1969), pp. 38-41.

23. D. Quinn, Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert (London, 1940), p. 36.

24. The colony is thought to have been modeled after More's *Utopia*. Quinn, *Ibid.*, pp. 59-62; H. Samson, Sir Humphrey Gilbert: A Record & A Surmise (London, 1921).

an Anglican empire in North America²⁵ and, indeed, set up a corporation of stockholders to back him financially. In Edward Hayes's narrative, he states that the voyage "... attempted in the yeere of our Lord 1583 by Sir Humphrey Gilbert knight, with other gentlemen assisting him in that action, intended to discover and to plant Christian inhabitants in place convenient ..."²⁶

References to the intentions behind settlement in Newfoundland also appeared in a number of promotional tracts written between 1620 and 1630.²⁷ The tracts specific to Newfoundland were, for the most part, sequels to Richard Hakluyt's Discourse Concerning Western Planting (1584) and The Principal Navigations (1599-1600) and Samuel Purchas's Purchas His Pilgrimage (1613) and Hakluyt Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes (1625). Richard Whitbourne's tract, A Discourse and Discovery of New-Found-Land, 1620, in many ways representative of the others written in this period, was

"written with the express countenance of the king, ordered by the Privy Council to be printed, and recommended by them to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and to the rest of the Bishops, that it might be distributed in the parishes of the kingdom, to inform the people how profitable migration to Newfoundland would be ..."²⁸

25. Wright, Religion and Empire, pp. 22-28.

26. E. Hayes, "Narrative of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Voyage (1583)", D. Quinn, editor, New American World (New York, 1979), p. 23.

27. Some of the other tracts were John Mason's A Brief Discourse of the New-Found-Land, 1620; T.C.'s A Short Discourse of the New-Found-Land (1623); Richard Eburne's A Plaine Path-way to Plantations (1624); William Vaughan's The Golden Fleece (1626) and Newlanders Cure (1630); Robert Hyman's Qvodlibets (1628) and A Proposition of Profit and Honor (1628).

28. T. Whitburn, Westward Hoe for Avalon In the New found land As Described by Captain Whitbourne, of Exmouth, Devon, 1622 (London, 1870), p. 10; original documents supporting the above statement are reprinted in the preface to Richard Whitbourne, A Discourse and Discovery of New-Found-Land, 1620 (New York, 1971).

Unfortunately the reality of settlement proved to be less glorious than the idyllic picture drawn by the authors of the tracts and also less profitable than predicted by the promoters of such schemes. In fact, for many of the settlers it was a story of unending toil followed by piratical raids, foreign attacks, disease, starvation and death. Of the six attempts at settlement undertaken between 1610 and 1629, none was really successful. In all, however, several hundred people participated in the settlement projects.

By the time Calvert left Ferryland in 1629, the international situation which had initially spurred the colonialization effort had changed; and so had the king and England's attitude toward Newfoundland. King Charles I ended the war with France in 1629 and the war with Spain in 1630. For the next decade Charles and most of his ministers were absorbed by the problems of domestic rather than foreign affairs. The economy was in the midst of a depression and England finally submitted to a position of neutrality in the religious disputes still raging in Europe. With the greater success of the settlements in the American colonies, the site of the colonization effort shifted almost entirely to the south. It was at this point, during the late 1630s, that the issue of creating an Anglican empire was discontinued as a national priority and was carried on solely as a crusade of the church. Newfoundland, in the minds of the churchmen, remained part of the Anglican empire. When Sir David Kirke was selected governor of the Ferryland colony by the group which had been granted proprietary rights over all Newfoundland in 1637, he opened a new phase of Newfoundland settlement.

Social behaviour was also regulated by the Church of England in a number of ways. For instance, it was mandatory for everyone to attend services in the parish church every Sunday and those who did not were liable to legal penalties; every family unit had to pay a tithe of its produce to the church; every member of society was subject to the rulings of the church courts which had a wide range of authority; and the poor, the elderly and the infirm were under the control of the church by means of programmes devised by the Church in compliance with laws which made the parishes responsible for them.

The concept of a single state church of which all Englishmen were members and by which all were controlled was officially maintained from the establishment of the Church in 1531 until the Religious Toleration Act in 1689. Even after this date, the clergy kept the idea alive. In the British colonies the clergy propounded the idea of the propagation of a state church again and again and to this end they exerted pressure in many social areas in their attempt to maintain control over their flock. For example, the charters and other documents which set out the rules for the colonists included the requirement that the "Lord's Day be observed at sea and on land" and often specified that the services be said in accordance with those of the Church of England from the "Book of Common Prayer". The selling of liquor on the Sabbath was also commonly prohibited in the colonies.

When Gilbert took possession of St. John's harbour and the land within two hundred leagues of it in the Queen's name in 1583, he announced three laws, "the first for Religion, which in Publique exercise

should be according to the Church of England . . .".²⁹

Not only was the Church of England cited as the only official church, but the charters of both the Newfoundland Company³⁰ and the Virginia Company (Jamestown)³¹ stipulated that ". . . it is our will and pleasure that none be permitted to pass in any voyage . . . but such as first shall have taken the Oath of Supremacy . . .".³² This was a further check of the church to make sure that no Catholics or Dissenters could reside in the colonies, for neither would have taken the oath. Subsequent Newfoundland land grants reiterated the necessity for the establishment of the Church of England and the requirement of all who traveled there to take the Oath of Supremacy.³³⁻³⁴

Reports from Guy's colony include a request for a "learned and godlie minister . . .".³⁵ and it is clear from the writings of William Alexander (New Scotland), William Vaughan (New Wales) and Henry Cary (New Ireland) that their colonies in Newfoundland were intended by their founders to be primarily communities of spiritual refuge.

29. E. Hayes. "Narrative". Quinn, Voyages, p. 418.

30. Newfoundland Company (Patent Rolls, 8 Jac.1, pt viii). C. Carr. Select Charters of Trading Companies, A.D. 1530-1707 (London, 1913), p. 61.

31. T. Coakley. "George Calvert and Newfoundland: 'The Sad Face of Winter'", Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. 71, No. 1. (Spring, 1976), p. 3.

32. The oath was a sworn declaration stating recognition of the king of England as the 'supreme head' of the Church.

33. A Grant of Newfoundland to the Marquis Hamilton, Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Holland and Sir David Kirke and their Heirs, 13 November 1637.

K. Matthews. Collection and Commentary on the Constitutional Laws of Seventeenth Century Newfoundland (St. John's, 1975), p. 82.

34. A Grant to Newfoundland, Ibid., pp. 113-115.

35. A Letter written by John Guy to Sir Percival Willoughby (October 6, 1610) Quinn, New American World, p. 146.

Sir George Calvert's involvement in Newfoundland introduced a new element of conflict in this established pattern of the Church of England's control. Several theories exist concerning Calvert's motives for the establishment of his colony, but it is improbable that his initial intention was for Newfoundland to be a religious refuge for Catholics as some historians have suggested, since it was not until 1625 that Calvert announced his conversion to Catholicism, five years after the colony was set up by Captain Edward Wynne.³⁶

In 1627, when Calvert journeyed to his colony he brought with him two seminary priests, Father Anthony Smith and Father Longvyll. Sometime during the summer of 1627 Erasmus Stourton, an Anglican clergyman, also arrived in Newfoundland to serve as chaplain to the more than one hundred colonists at Ferryland.³⁷ The following summer Calvert's family and forty more Catholic settlers together with another priest, Father Hacket, joined the Ferryland colony. The fact that Calvert and other Catholics and the priests were present in Ferryland and celebrated the mass and carried out all the other ceremonies of the Church of Rome "in as ample manner as tis used in Spayne" so disturbed Stourton that he evidently argued continuously with Calvert which ultimately resulted in the expulsion of Stourton from the community in August 1628.³⁸

Calvert's decision to leave Ferryland in 1629 seemed to have closed the issue of a Catholic stronghold and mission in Newfoundland for the

36. R. Lahey, "The Role of Religion in Lord Baltimore's Colonial Enterprise" *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 72, No. 4. (Winter, 1977).

37. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 1, p. 614.

38. Coakley, "George Calvert", p. 14.

time being,³⁹ and the overall shift in the international situation, the pressure of England's domestic conflicts and the collapse of the Newfoundland settlement effort in general, caused a temporary diminution of the Church of England's direct influence in Newfoundland.

1.2 The Church of Rome

The Roman Catholic Church exhibited a missionary spirit early in the age of exploration. In the fifteenth century it was common for the adventurer, the soldier and the priest to travel together and claim new territory for their country and their church. It was in this spirit that the Catholic Church established the Congregation of the "Propaganda Fidei" at Rome in 1622 expressly to assist foreign missions which were following the command to "go and teach all nations" and the Missionary College of Propaganda (1627), an institution associated with the Congregation in which a free education was given to would-be missionaries.⁴⁰

In Newfoundland, first the English and then the French took the initiative in establishing a Catholic mission. The English never got beyond the landing of priests in Ferryland, where their plans were soon aborted by the departure of Calvert in 1629. The French were much more successful.

In 1689 Placentia became an established parish under the direct control of the Bishop of Quebec. It is fairly certain that there was a constant succession of priests in Newfoundland after 1689 and that Placentia was considered one of the Roman Catholic missionary posts; it was linked

39. Coakley, *Ibid.*, p. 15.

40. M. Howley, Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland (Belleville, Ontario, 1979), pp. 35-36.

with the churches in St. Pierre, Hermitage, Grand Bank, Fortune Bay, Havre Bertrand and, possibly, in St. Mary's.⁴¹ This fitted the general pattern of French expansion in North America, which from its beginning in the middle of the sixteenth century consisted of both trade and missionary enterprise.

In the first reference to Catholic education on the island, it was the priests who were acknowledged as the first teachers. This is confirmed in an agreement drawn up with the inhabitants of St. Pierre on 9 July 1686 which stated "they would support a parish priest who would not only perform the usual ecclesiastical functions, but who would also instruct the children".⁴² It is also recorded that only Catholics were allowed to live in the French communities, which meant that the priest would be a key figure in the control of the entire population.

In the Catholic communities the priest and the governor were the leaders of the community. The priest's power was also representative of that of the Bishop of Quebec and the entire hierarchy of the Church of Rome. Furthermore, he was considered the Lord's representative on earth of the kingdom of heaven.

When the French were expelled from Newfoundland by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), the Catholic mission was terminated. It was not until later in the eighteenth century that Catholic influence was reintroduced by the Irish immigrants.

41. Lahey, "Church Affairs", pp. 4-6.

42. McCarthy, "A History of Plaisance", p. 51; p. 100.

2. Apprenticeship

"Apprenticeship, a training in an art, trade, or craft guided by a legal agreement which defines the relationship between the learner and the master, including the duration and conditions of the relationship," was recorded as far back as the eighteenth century B.C. in Egypt and Babylon and was later recognized as an accepted method of training craftsmen in the Roman Empire. It reappeared in western Europe in the thirteenth century with the emergence of craft guilds.⁴³ It was adopted in England as early as the thirteenth century and ordinances, statutes and indentures related to apprenticeship have been preserved in guild and municipal records from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries. At first the practice of apprenticeship applied only to fishmongers, but it spread rapidly to other trades so that by the fourteenth century long series of ordinances were common in the records of most municipalities, covering at least fifty different crafts and trades, and was recognized as the most usual method to gain entrance to a trade. This was the result of the guilds having taken on the responsibility of the training of new craftsmen, the supervision of quality and methods of production, and the selection of masters as full-fledged craftsmen. However, the assumption of these responsibilities, coupled with the great increase in the numbers of competing artisans in the market led to a situation in which the guilds often became very exclusive and formed trade monopolies in each town and limited apprenticeship to the sons of guild members, relatives and wealthy friends.

⁴³ Encyclopedia Britannica, (15th ed.), Vol. 1, "Apprenticeship and Employee Training", pp. 1018-1019.

In order to correct the growing number of abuses by masters and apprentices, to ensure fair working conditions, and control a high level of workmanship, municipalities had to reinforce guild ordinances in legislation. Other than municipal involvement, very little changed with regard to the customs and regulation of apprenticeship between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Most boys as well as girls served the usual term of seven years, although terms of as few as two years and as many as sixteen years have been recorded. In terms of the contract, the apprentice

"bound himself to live with his master for a certain period of years, promised to serve him diligently, obey his 'reasonable' commands, keep his secrets, protect him from injury 'by others', abstain from such games as dice and cards and the 'haunting' of taverns, neither to commit fornication nor contract matrimony, and not to absent himself from his master's service without permission. The master on the other hand, promised to instruct the boy in his trade, and give him bed, board, and clothing." 44

At the end of his term, the apprentice was brought before a master in the craft and a city official and had to receive public testimony of his ability and worthiness to carry on the trade. If he received such testimony, he paid a fee to the guild and became a full-fledged master and was then entitled to take on apprentices of his own.

In 1564 the most significant change with regard to apprenticeship in three centuries was made when the Statute of Artificers came into affect and brought the regulation of apprenticeship, labour and agricultural workers into a unified national policy, replacing the earlier local regulations with a national standard of wages and a single set of laws re-

44. R. Seybolt, Apprenticeship and Apprenticeship Education in Colonial New England and New York (New York City, 1917), pp. 11-13. Since apprenticeship applied to girls as well as boys, the contracts would have had the same terms for both.

garding employment of all servants and apprentices.⁴⁵

Another sequence of sixteenth-century laws which affected apprenticeship in England, and in turn Newfoundland, were the Poor Laws. Beginning in 1531 beggars and vagabonds were to be whipped and encouraged to return to the place of their birth to be cared for by their parish. Subsequent laws dealing with the problem of the poor were passed by Parliament in 1536, 1552 and 1563 providing greater relief for the poor and finally in 1598 the "Act for the Relief of the Poor" intended to entirely "abolish begging and vagabondage by making poor relief, including the building and maintenance of poor-houses a charge on each parish".⁴⁶ None of these acts proved to be at all successful in decreasing the extremely large numbers of poor or in actually providing relief. In 1601 another poor law was passed with the intention to

"employ those who are able to work, to cherish and support the aged and impotent, and to nurse and educate to labour and habits of industry the infants who have lost their parents, or whose parents are unable or unwilling to maintain them; to punish the idle, disorderly, and to inculcate in the minds of everyone principles of religion and morality".⁴⁷

This time the law gave the public authorities and church-wardens the power to apprentice all poor children, "males until twenty-four years of age, and females until twenty-one or marriage".⁴⁸ A primary objective of

45. 5 Elizabeth, cap. IV, An Act containing divers orders for artificers, labourers, servants, husbandry and apprentices. This statute is to be found in the records of 1562/63 but states that it is to become law on the feast of St. Michael 1564.

46. S. Clough, et al., A History of the Western World: Early Modern Times (Boston, 1964), pp. 469-470.

47. T. Gilbert, Observations upon the Orders and Resolutions of the House of Commons with respect to the Poor, Vagrants, and Houses of Correction (London, 1775), p. 2.

48. Seybolt, Apprenticeship, pp. 19-20.

the law was to bind out the children to a person who would provide "bed, board, and clothing" (with a proper guardian) and it was only by chance that some of the pauper children were apprenticed to a tradesman who actually taught them a trade. The terms of indenture were similar to those for other apprentices, although the contract was made, with the consent of two Justices of the Peace, between the church-warden and the master. Thus by public or private indenture, apprenticeship had become the common way of life in England by the early seventeenth century.

With a relatively large number of apprentices common to the English population, it is not surprising that a proportionately large number of apprentices took part in the yearly migration to Newfoundland. Since in some cases masters were part of settlement ventures and in other cases they were merchants who arranged fishery crews, their apprentices were included as members of the settlement communities and fishery crews in Newfoundland.

Handcock was able to determine that "about 50 per cent of all English Newfoundland migrants made their first Atlantic crossing before they were 20 years old, and more than 95 per cent arrived before they were 25". Of these, "more than 20 per cent were less than 15 years old and some records show that a few came even before they were 10".⁴⁹ We can be certain that most, if not all, of those under 15 were apprentices. A significant number of those under 24 were probably also apprentices, given that it was common for young men to be indentured until the age

49. W.G. Handcock. "Social Origins of the English", The Peopling of Newfoundland, W.G. Handcock and J. Mannion, editors (St. John's, 1977), pp. 4-5.

of 21, or in the case of the poor, until the age of 24.

Since many merchants involved with the Newfoundland fishery needed labourers to serve in Newfoundland, this cheap source of labour well-suited their needs and they therefore often took on 'boys' as indentured servants.⁵⁰ The supply of apprentices was also supplemented by a number of private charities that were "established by benefactors for the relief of the poor and the binding of pauper apprentices".⁵¹ Handcock cites an example of one of these charities which was founded by William Williams in 1621 specifically to sponsor the "binding of boys to the 'sea service' at the rate of two annually . . .".⁵² Handcock goes on to say that a large number of 'open' trade endowments in some twenty-four towns of Dorset were also available to merchants and ship-owners as a "source of cheap labour" and often included a cash bonus for taking apprentices.⁵³

At least sixteen apprentices were recorded to be bound to masters connected with Guy's colony at Cuper's Cove. In a letter to Sir Percival Willoughby from Thomas Cowper, Edward Carton, and John Harrington, three of the Cuper's Cove apprentices, mention was made concerning a promise of land made to the apprentices,⁵⁴ indicating that the apprentices were considered part of the permanent colony. The relief ship which reached the

50. Handcock, *Ibid.*, p. 6.

51. W.G. Handcock, "An Historical Geography of the Origins of English Settlement in Newfoundland; A Study of the Migration Process" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1979), p. 24.

52. Handcock, *Ibid.*, p. 24.

53. Handcock, *Ibid.*, p. 25.

54. *Loc. cit.*, 23 August 1612, Quinn, New American World, p. 151.

colony in March 1613 also reported carrying apprentices to the colony.⁵⁵

The activities of the apprentices of the Cuper's Cove colony can be deduced from a description of the work of the first winter written by John Guy. According to Guy, the winter of 1610-11 was very mild and allowed the 39 men to build two sawmills, a storehouse to hold provisions, a dwelling house to be used for habitation and as workspace, a 12 ton boat and six fishing boats; to clear ground for a garden; to cut wood for the collier; to set up and work the forge; and to frame up another "farre greater and fairer house".⁵⁶ Subsequent reports describe hunting, fishing and exploratory expeditions. The apprentices, therefore, probably did much of the carpentry work during the winter months and participated in the fishery during the summer months.

The practice of binding apprentices to Newfoundland planters as well as the merchants and ship-owners was later confirmed in the census reports of 1675 - 1681 which list the planters and servants who were in Newfoundland. In 1675, for example, Sir John Berry recorded the names of one hundred and forty-six planters between Cape Race and Cape Bonavista and at the same time enumerated 1,252 servants belonging to the planters.⁵⁷ A year later, in another census, there were one hundred and forty-one planters and 1,340 servants.⁵⁸ Of the total Newfoundland population, therefore, apprentices accounted for approximately 90 per cent of the wintering population by the third quarter of the seventeenth century.

55. Cell, English Enterprise, p. 70.

56. J. Guy, Reports on the first winter and spring, May 11, 1611, Quinn, New American World, pp. 146-149.

57. CO 1/35, Newfoundland: A list of the Planter's Names, etc. (1675).

58. CO 1/38, The Names of the English Inhabitants with the number of their boats, men, wives, & children. (1676).

The practice of binding apprentices in Newfoundland was not limited to the settlement enterprise. Apprentices were also bound to the fishery. The annual trip to Newfoundland by English fishermen by 1615 consisted of approximately 5,000 men and boys, 250 ships, and yielded about 300,000 quintals of fish worth £ 120,000 per year. The number of men and boats varied during the century, from a high of 20,000 men and boys to a low of less than 4,000.⁵⁹ These figures do not account for the seamen involved with the trade of Newfoundland fish which by 1633 were said to number 10,680 men, or the merchants and clerks also employed in the trade. During the first quarter of the century approximately 500 foreign vessels also participated in the Newfoundland fishery and many more were active in the trade.

Every year crews would leave English, French, and Irish ports during February or March with hopes to be the first to arrive in the harbours which dotted the coast of the island. The first master to arrive in the English harbours, those from Renewse to Bonavista, had the distinction of being the 'commander' of that harbour for that season as well as having the first choice of space on shore. Each harbour would be the site of from one crew of three to forty members, to as many as 200 crews, each consisting of at least a master, a midshipman, and one or two foreshipmen. Since the English processed their fish on land, the fish were brought each evening or when the boats were full to the 'stages' and 'flakes' on the shore to be cleaned, split, washed, and salted by the

59. Handcock, "An Historical Geography", p. 19.

'landsmen'.⁶⁰ This procedure would continue throughout the summer until early fall when most of the fishery would be closed down.

Since the fishery was the most significant activity in Newfoundland during the seventeenth century, it was understood that the apprentices were to participate in it. In the Journal of James Younge, edited by Poynter, a graphic description is given of the shore operation of the fishery and the work of the servants or boys:

"They bring the fish to the stage head, the foreshipman goes to boil their kettle, and the other two throw up the fish on the stage-head by pears /spears?/, that is a staff with a prong of iron in him, which they stick in the fish and throw them up. Then a boy takes them and lays them on a table in the stage, on one side of which stands a header, who opens the belly, takes out the liver, and twines off the head and guts (which fall through the stage into the sea) with notable dexterity and suddenness. The liver runs through a hole in the table, into a coole or great tub, which is thrown into the train fatt.

When the header has done his work, he thrusts the fish to the other side of the table, where sits a splitter, or splitter, who with a strong knife splits it abroad, and with a back stroke cuts off the bone, which falls through a hole into the sea.

When the fish is split, he falls into a drooge barrow which, when full, is drawn to one side of the stage where boys lay it one on top of another. The salter comes with salt on a wooden shovel and with a little brush strews the salt on it. When a pile is about 3 foot high they begin with another."⁶¹

As the servant gained experience, he would take on the jobs of the header, splitter, and salter on shore or one of the positions in the fishing boats. If the apprentice was not to return to England for the winter, but was to stay in Newfoundland, he would be expected to fish, slaughter the cattle that could not be kept over, cut firewood and poles for repairs and construction of the flakes and stages, build and repair

60. Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, pp. 3-5.

61. Cited in Head, ibid., p. 5.

boats, hunt and trap, and protect and save their shore room for the next year's fishery.⁶²

Since the structure of the inshore fishery did not vary during the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, the pattern of apprenticeship remained constant in terms of the work done by the apprentices. If indeed, as

Handcock states, fifty per cent of the migrants were of an age which we could reasonably assume that many were apprentices, and the number of migrants sailing to Newfoundland fluctuated between a low of just 4,000 and a high of 20,000 during the seventeenth century, the number of apprentices involved in the Newfoundland fishery was quite sizable, possibly from 2,000 to 10,000 annually. In Newfoundland as in England, servitude or apprenticeship was the rule among the labourers. In Newfoundland, however, it was also a prerequisite to becoming a seaman, a fisherman, a boatmaster, or a planter. Since English society did not usually provide an environment in which the skills necessary for these trades could be learned, they had to be learned in Newfoundland.

Let us remember, all was not well in the Newfoundland fishery of the seventeenth century. The fishermen faced not only the general hardships of the physically demanding work, but also the competition which was not always marked by peaceful relations, constant raids by pirates, the natural cycles of the fish (which yielded better catches in only one of three years), and poor market prices resulting from the glutting of the markets in the late summer and early fall. These specific conflicts accounted for the fluctuation in the numbers of Newfoundland migrants and immigrants during the seventeenth century.

62. Head, *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

3. Naval Training

Training of seamen for the British navy was another major pattern of Newfoundland education in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The annual Newfoundland fishery had been, from its early days, widely praised as an important means of training seamen and this was included as an important objective in the statutes passed to govern the conduct of the fishery.⁶³ This point was also used as an argument against settlement; a resident Newfoundland labour force, it was argued, would limit the number of 'green men' being trained each year and would decrease the numbers of men available for recruitment in time of danger. Since England was involved in a number of major wars requiring sea power, it is easy to understand why a large body of trained seamen was considered a necessity by the government.

The first legislation that brought into law the century-old practice of carrying 'green men' was 'An Order Concerning the Amendment and Addition of certain clauses to the Western Charter, 10 March 1670/71 which states in clause 7' ... that every ffifth /sic/ Man yearly carried out of England, be a Green Man, That is to say, not a Seaman.'⁶⁴ This same clause was repeated in the Western Charter, 27 January 1675/76.⁶⁵ Again in 1699 the 'Imperial Act 10 and 11 William III, cap. 25, 'An Act to Encourage the Trade to Newfoundland' stipulates in Clauses IX and X that every bye-boat master must carry two fresh men in six which the inhabitants are obliged to employ and every master of a fishing ship must carry one fresh man in five.⁶⁶

63. Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, p. 38

64. Loc. cit., Matthews, Collection and Commentary, pp. 151-157.

65. Loc. cit., Matthews, Collection and Commentary, pp. 171-180.

66. Loc. cit., Matthews, Collection and Commentary, pp. 202-218; See Appendix B.

Significant as the navy was to England from the end of the sixteenth century, no major study of seamanship training and the importance of Newfoundland as a nursery for seamen has been made. Although exact figures of the numbers of men involved are not available, Handcock has estimated that "most years" about one-quarter of the migrants were 'green men'.⁶⁷ Given that the number of migrants varied from 4,000 to 20,000, the number of 'green men' would have been from 1,000 to 5,000 per year. If one also takes into account the number of men on the ships involved with the trade of fish, but who were not migrants or fishermen, approximately another 10,000 men, the number of 'green men' in the total would have been between 3,500 and 7,500 men per year.

Summary.

For Newfoundland, the seventeenth century saw the initial struggle for settlement, in terms of the hardships of the first colonists and the fights between the planters and fishermen and the West Country merchants and the government. A religious dimension was built into the Protestant and Roman Catholic claims for the island; England had included Newfoundland in its legislation regarding seamanship training, trade and colonization and was also involved with Newfoundland in an annual migratory fishing enterprise; the French established a permanent settlement, began spreading their influence along the south coast, and participated in an

67. G. Handcock. "The English Seasonal Migrations to Newfoundland", The Peopling of Newfoundland, W.G. Handcock and J. Mannion, eds. (St. John's, 1977), p.5.

annual migratory fishery. Three patterns of education were clearly part of Newfoundland society however unstable and variable: it appeared to be - church education, apprenticeship and naval training.

Since the winter population of Newfoundland was so small and scattered and, for the most part, migratory for the entire century, no other forms of education were required to meet their needs. The wars, the physical hardships and the fluctuating national policies of England and France added to the instability of society in Newfoundland, rendering it difficult to establish formal educational institutions. Furthermore, there was no resident monied class to support the establishment of schools as there was in England, nor were the churches in a position to do so.

Very little has been written about the education offered by the priests in the French communities of Newfoundland; this pattern remains to be studied further. From what we know about the education in the homelands of the people, both French and English, who were in Newfoundland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we can be certain that they were educated, if not in schools, at least by their respective churches. It is quite probable that the English migrants were literate to the degree that they knew the alphabet and catechism. Others from England might even have known some Latin and Greek. Since apprenticeship was part of the English educational process, those who were apprenticed to masters in Newfoundland were actually continuing their education. Naval training was an educational pattern which served for both national defence and the fishery.

CHAPTER II - THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Social, Political and Economic Setting.

Contrary to much that has been written, the eighteenth century was extremely significant for Newfoundland; it was the period during which the permanent settlement pattern and the social and cultural heritage of modern Newfoundland were established. At the opening of the century there was only a handful of families on the island who had survived the French holocaust of 1696/7,¹ but by the close of the century the winter population had risen to nearly 20,000 and represented nine-tenths of the total summer population.² Therefore, it was during the eighteenth century that Newfoundland, which had been the site of a primarily migratory summer population in the seventeenth century, became essentially a place of permanent, year-round residence. Along with this major shift, as would be expected, other social changes occurred. But before examining these changes, it is first necessary to look at the 'revolutionary' innovations and social modifications that occurred in Europe and Great Britain over the course of the same century in order to see that the changes in Newfoundland were part of a much larger pattern of change.

The eighteenth century in Europe and Great Britain began as the seventeenth had ended, in the midst of war. But this time war affected the largest land area and involved all the major European powers as well as many minor ones and is sometimes referred to as "The Second Hundred

1. Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, pp. 39-41.

2. Head, Ibid., p. 217.

Years' War". The succession of seven wars,³ actually began in 1689 with the War of the League of Augsburg and concluded with the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, resulted in the gradual decline of France as the most powerful European nation and the steady advance of Great Britain as the new world leader. Although the wars had various causes, were fought on a number of continents, and had participants that often changed sides, generally speaking, England and France were always opponents. At the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars, England had more than doubled her overseas territories, even taking into account the loss of the American Colonies, and by the end of the era England ruled "the waves" as well as a global empire.⁴

This transfer of territorial ownership and international power is in itself significant. However, it is only secondary in importance to the so-called "social revolution" which included the industrial, agricultural, economic and democratic revolutions. The use of the term 'revolution' has been greatly debated. The vast changes of the nineteenth century, which owe their birth to the eighteenth century, are still going on at an accelerating pace. Revolution connotes a sudden, drastic change and although there were many significant changes affecting almost every facet of western civilization, they all took place gradually; for the most part,

3. The Second Hundred Years' War included the War of the League of Augsburg (1689-1697), The War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713), the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748), the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), the War of the American Revolution (1775-1783), the Wars of the French Revolution (1792-1801) and the Napoleonic Wars (1801-1815). Clough, Early Modern Times, p. 652.

4. During the course of these wars, England gained possession of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, the Hudson Bay Territory, Gibraltar and Minorca in 1713; India and French Canada in 1763; and many of the remaining French overseas possessions in 1815.

each acted as a counterpart to other changes; all of them, taken together, defined a new world order.

The industrial changes began in the seventeenth century after a new scientific attitude based on empiricism, introduced to English thinkers by the philosopher Francis Bacon (1561-1626), spurred an age of investigation of natural phenomena. The new experimental method, based on inductive reasoning, in conjunction with the age of exploration opened vast new areas of enquiry. With the encouragement of 'The Royal Society', voyagers were drafted into the service of the 'new science' as investigators and reporters of 'facts' on a global scale. Through standardized and careful recording of data prescribed, promoted, and distributed by The Royal Society, information was made available to an international body of scientists as well as the literate public.⁵ By the end of the seventeenth century major scientific theories had been formed and were widely accepted in the areas of physics and chemistry and furthermore, mathematics (which now included calculus) had been applied to the theories of physics by the genius of Sir Isaac Newton. Moreover, the 'new knowledge' was being applied to the machine. According to Lewis Mumford, all the key inventions or fundamental mechanical devices had been made before 1750; industrialization had taken place in a number of major areas - in glassmaking, arms production, printing, milling and weaving - and what developed during the eighteenth century was the systematization of

5. By numerous accounts of the times, the new findings of the voyagers became very much the vogue; their reports had a wide circulation and were included in many private libraries. R.W. Frantz, The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas, 1660-1732 (Nebraska, 1967), pp. 12-72.

production, the development of the means of mass distribution and the demand for mass consumption.⁶

The development of a new economic system which included the exclusive use of money and bank notes centrally controlled by banks and the formation of chartered companies and joint stock companies contributed to the advancement of technology. One of the most outstanding outcomes of this economic development was the recognition that money or capital had more power than the command of men and land which had formerly been assumed. This new consciousness drew governments and private entrepreneurs into economic enterprise solely for the motive of profit and rendered wealth a virtue in the new order of "rational capitalism".⁷

Technology and the new economic order along with the supremacy of the British fleet both militarily and in trade, an extensive network of industry, and a national system of internal free trade united in England at the end of the seventeenth century to create a situation which lacked only a free labour force and a constant market of consumption to incite a rapid expansion of industry. These last two conditions were met during the eighteenth century.

The wars provided England with an overseas empire which at once created a market as well as a source of raw materials and moreover, so impeded other European nations that they were no longer competitors, but

6. L. Mumford, Technics and Civilization (New York, 1934), pp. 107-148.

7. The premise that money or capital are wealth was modified slightly toward the end of the eighteenth century by Adam Smith when he charged in Wealth of Nations (1776) that "the true wealth of the state is not to be measured by the gold and silver that it possesses but by the amount of goods and services which it produces". Cited in Clough, Early Modern Times, p. 672.

actually became consumers of British goods. The last essential component, a free labour force, was added by the concurrent dramatic increase in the population of England and Europe over the course of the eighteenth century and the mass migration to the industrial centres.

The population in England in 1700 was 5.8 million, by 1750 it had risen to 6.2 million and by 1801 it had reached 9.1 million.⁸ Similar increases took place in every European nation during the same period. In addition to providing an increased labour force, the population increase almost doubled the consumer market.

The land enclosure movement was another factor which greatly magnified the growth in the work force, increased consumer demands and caused the convergence toward the industrial centres. The way to enclosure was opened in 1646 and was reconfirmed in 1660 when feudal tenures and the Court of Wards were abolished. This meant that the land owners gained absolute ownership of their holdings and were no longer obliged to meet death duties and wardship of the feudal tenures. During the next century land transfers and heavy taxation led to a significant redistribution of the land, away from the ancient families, lesser gentry and freeholders and towards vast new agglomerations of landed estates owned by lawyers, bankers, merchants and government contractors interested in quick returns on their investments. By fencing in large tracts of land for pasture and for planting crops, the investors could concentrate their interests and capital in more advanced techniques of cultivation, new

8. J.D. Chambers, Population, Economy and Society in Pre-industrial England (London, 1972), p. 108.

crops, better tools, larger sheep herds, and moreover, they could align their production according to the demands of the market. Not only did this mean higher profits and greater yields due to more efficient management of the land, but it also resulted in an increase in the value of the land itself, to the extent of fifty per cent for enclosed pasture by the beginning of the seventeenth century and a hundred and fifty per cent for arable land by 1663.⁹ It has been estimated that between 1700 and 1845 some 14,000,000 acres of land, or one quarter of all the arable land of England, had been consolidated by new land owners.¹⁰ Between 1760 and 1830 the government became involved and by giving sanction to the movement by the passage of thousands of "Enclosure Acts" hastened the trend and brought about the final death to the custom of common land use and the traditional life style associated with it.

In relation to the labour force, the enclosures forced small tenant or copyhold farmers off the land and deprived the lower classes of the use of common lands which had been a source of free fuel, pasture for animals and land for 'kitchen gardens'. This increased the dependence on wages for thousands of workers who had previously depended on subsistence farming and cottage industry or small home crafts. It also required the sons of yeomen and husbandmen to seek jobs where they previously would have stayed on the land. This new dependence on wages led to a mass exodus from rural England to the urban, northern and mid-land industrial centres where jobs were available, mainly in the coal

9. C. Hill, Reformation to Industrial Revolution (London, 1967), p. 119.

10. Clough, Early Modern Times, p. 667.

mines and factories associated with the textile industry.

As a result of these many changes, industrial production in England between 1700 and 1800 quadrupled,¹¹ mainly in two major industries - textiles and steel. However, auxiliary industries such as coal and iron mining, transportation and trade, the production of steam powered machinery, and agricultural production also expanded. By the end of the century England was well on the way to becoming the world's greatest industrial nation. Europe and North America, as consumers, suppliers of raw materials, and political allies or opponents, were forced to participate in various ways in the changes which were centred in England.

The vast social changes of this period influenced philosophers who began making new assumptions about man and the universe. Hobbes introduced to British philosophy a radically new concept of man in the Leviathan (1651); he was the first to associate human behaviour with economics and social status and build it into a case for political theory.¹²

Smith, Malthus and Ricardo were instrumental in expanding economic theory while Locke, Rousseau and Montesquieu developed political theories. The new economic theories basically expounded the notion that labour is the source of a nation's wealth. This was a fundamental change which, with other forces, profoundly altered the western world. The political theories, based on the ideas that government could be changed, that it could provide formative influences on man by changing the environment.

11. Clough, *Ibid.*, p. 657.

12. C.B. Macpherson. The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism (London, 1962), p. 78.

(social reform), laid the foundations of "the Age of the Democratic Revolution", a period between 1760 and 1800 in which America, France, the Netherlands, Ireland, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Poland and Hungary experienced political revolutions which contributed to the growth of democratic governments.

Locke followed by Berkeley, Hume, Condillac and D'Alembert wrote major works setting the foundation for the study of man, which in turn stimulated the development of new educational theories. The notion of the perfectibility of man through education was a prominent revelation of eighteenth century philosophy. Hobbes initiated the idea when he stated in the Leviathan that "educability is one of the assumed elements of human nature".¹³ Locke, although he considered the lower classes incapable of rational thought, did advance one of the basic tenets that became essential in educational theory - the concept that the mind is a 'tabula rasa', a blank which is entirely moulded by the environment.¹⁴ The French 'philosophes' added a number of other new ideas to educational theory. Turgot and Condorcet associated the concepts of educational action and progress and advocated the dispersal of knowledge to all people. Diderot was instrumental in the writing of the 'encyclopédie' and the promotion of the idea of encyclopediac learning. Montesquieu, Helvétius and Diderot wrote extensively on the subject of the relationship between education and responsible citizenship. Based on these developments in educational theory, the theorists called for a more

13. Macpherson, *Ibid.*, p. 78.

14. J. Locke. "An Essay Concerning Human Understanding", The English Philosophers from Bacon to Mills, E. Burt, editor. (New York, 1939), p. 248.

practical curriculum, one that would be "relevant to the future careers of the pupils",¹⁵ and teaching methods that were more humane and that would fit the natures of children.¹⁶

These changes in the basic concept of education in addition to the changes in economic, political and social theories delimited some of the characteristics of the new world order; a world largely controlled by economic forces, marked by the decline in religious domination in political spheres and the continued conflict in political and social spheres.

While Europe and Great Britain were experiencing social transformation, Newfoundland also underwent a number of major changes, some of which were directly related to those of Europe and the British Isles while others were unique to the conditions in Newfoundland.

It would be incorrect to continue to say, as others have in the past, that England was unconcerned with Newfoundland during the eighteenth century. Although the Imperial Act 10 and 11 William III of 1699 stood as the only direct legislation with regard to administering affairs on the island and that gave very few guidelines for regulating the fishermen or the residents, England did, however, appoint governors continuously after 1729 to set and administer laws, as best they could, for the island's fishermen and residents. "Winter magistrates" were appointed by the governor also beginning in 1729. A judicial system was first established with a Vice Admiralty Court in St. John's in 1744 and was expanded in 1750 by Royal Proclamation to a court of Oyer and Terminer. The governing

15. Locke cited in P. Gay. The Enlightenment: An Interpretation (New York, 1969), p. 507.

16. Gay, *Ibid.*, p. 507, pp. 4-6; J. Lively. The Enlightenment (London, 1966).

system was weak to say the least. However, the government in Great Britain was also noted for its laissez-faire attitude. Moreover, it is important to recognize that in Newfoundland, previous to the nineteenth century, paper laws were generally disregarded; common law or custom was taken more seriously. The laws that England did enact with regard to Newfoundland were more directly concerned with trade and the fishery, the issues that were of most import to the British nation.

Settlement in Newfoundland during the eighteenth century was not illegal as has so often been stated. As Professor Head argues, eighteenth century settlement was extremely significant, as it established the population patterns and cultural heritage that remained to this day. The eighteenth century peopling of Newfoundland happened without the benefit of formal corporations similar to those of the seventeenth century and was independent of government control before 1775. The population distribution of the 1720s nearly matched that of the 1670s, although the people, the houses, the boats and the fishing equipment were almost entirely new in this century. It has been suggested that the manner in which the cod fishery was carried on dictated the original settlement pattern¹⁷ and since the inshore fishery methods remained the same for the entire eighteenth century as they had been before 1700, the population distribution also remained the same. The scattering of the people to small settlements along the coast thus had nothing to do with any attempt to hide from British naval officers and migratory fishing vessels.

By the third decade of the century, activity increased in each of the eastern bays, excluding Trinity Bay and Bonaville Bay; by 1750 both

17. For a detailed analysis of population distribution see W.G. Handcock, "An Historical Geography" and Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, pp. 186-187.

Trinity Bay and Bonavista Bay had felt the upswing in activity; and after 1763 (the settlement of the war with France) the areas north of Cape St. John, the old French fishing areas, began to experience British fishing and settlement activity. In addition to the northward spread during this period, expansion also occurred along the south-west coast among the communities exploited by the French before 1713. Head suggests, however, that the movement along the south-west coast was probably hindered by the interference of Samuel Gledhill, commander of the garrison (and fishery) at Placentia from 1719 to 1727, and did not reach the French levels of activity for over forty years.¹⁸ For the period before 1750, therefore, except for British expansion into French areas of exploitation, the major change was in the numbers of people carrying on the traditional fishery in the areas that had been used for over a century.

The summer population increased from 6,000 in the 1720s to 25,000 just after 1800. However, the summer increase was not the most significant population change of the eighteenth century; the increase in the winter population was far more important. During the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the winter population numbered about 1,200; by 1730 it had grown to 3,500, by 1750 to 7,300 and by the 1770s to nearly 12,000. These figures are significant because they represent an overall change in the pattern of Newfoundland migration. During the seventeenth century less than fifteen per cent of the summer population remained on the island, but by the end of the eighteenth century, nearly ninety per

18. Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, pp. 59-60.

cent of the summer population were staying for the winter.¹⁹ The shift from a migratory population to a resident population did not follow a steady course, but was greatly affected by the wars and fluctuated by area as well. The total change, however, resulted in new patterns of social development.

One factor which was responsible for social changes was the great increase in Irish immigration. During the seventeenth century and even as late as 1732, more than nine-tenths of the Newfoundland residents were from the south and west of England.²⁰ From the 1750s to the end of the century, the English were only slightly more numerous than the Irish and in some areas, notably the Southern Shore and St. John's, the Irish at times outnumbered the English.²¹ A number of excellent studies have recently been made detailing the migration patterns from England and Ireland to Newfoundland.²² There is, however, much need to study the life styles, customs, and traditions to compare the old and new home sites.

Head suggests that it was the Irish who "had been the major part of the increasing trend to year-round habitation".²³ The reasons he cites for this are: first, the shortage of labour in the Newfoundland fishery during the 1740s due to the impressment of seamen into the Navy in anticipation of war and the concurrent unemployment of the Irish at home, and

19. Head, *Ibid.*, p. 56, 82, 232; see Graph 2:1, p. 54.

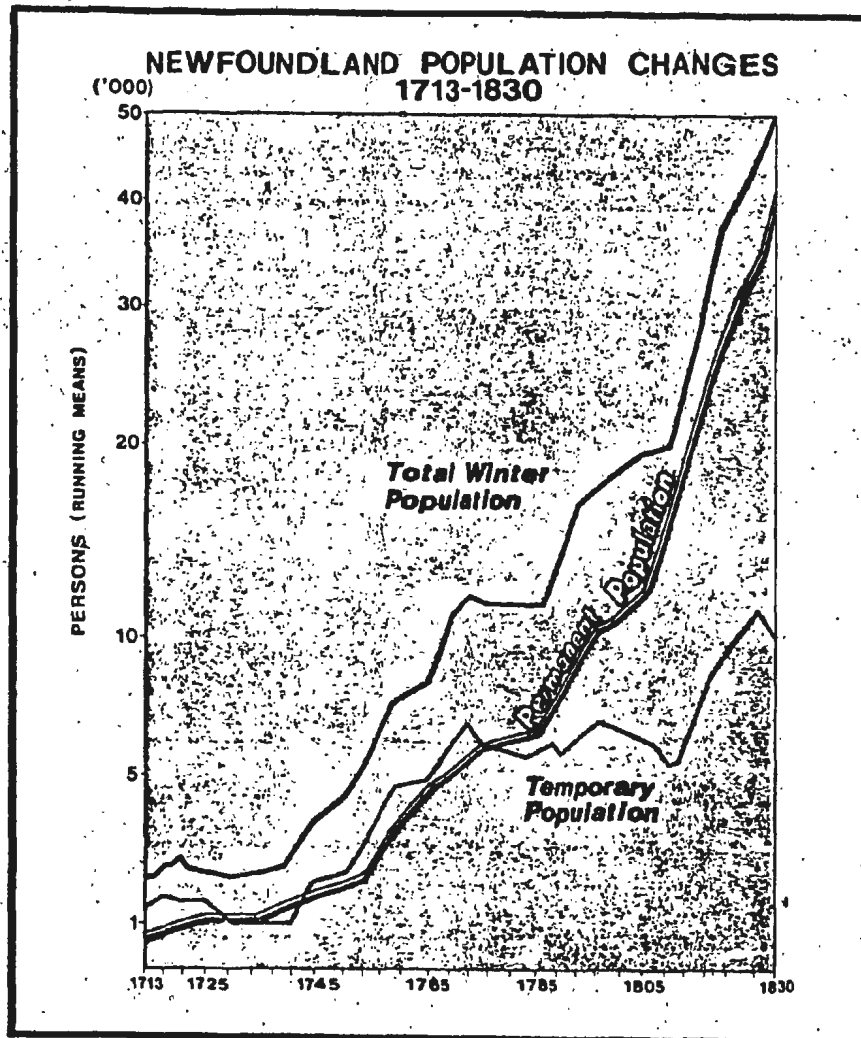
20. Head, *Ibid.*, p. 83.

21. Although not all the Irish were Catholics, and a direct one to one correlation cannot be assumed, the numbers of Catholics do give a general indication of areas where the Irish settled. See Table 2:1, pp. 55-56.

22. Cf. the work of W.G. Handcock, J. Mannion, K. Matthews, and G.G. Head.

23. Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland*, p. 91.

Table 2:1[#]



[#] G. Handcock. "English Migration to Newfoundland". The Peopling of Newfoundland. John Mannion, ed. (St. John's, 1977). Used with permission.

Table 2:1

Distribution of Protestants and Roman Catholics 1754-1798 #

		1754	1758	1763	1767	1771	1775
St. John's	P	557	681	181	747	648	814
*	C	673	637	449	637	675	575
Bay Bulls	P	235	461	231	100	401	220
	C	153	109	680	454	115	118
Ferryland	P	374	360	63	263	316	124
**	C	348	480	347	597	302	540
Placentia	P	87	670	287	240	86	50
***	C	290	1240	776	159	377	466
St. Mary's	P	71	172	116	129	314	214
Trepassey	C	106	92	168	139	93	192
Harbour Grace	P	995	2861	2362	2239	3432	4172
Carbonear****	C	1030	764	735	2027	1101	923
Old Perlican	P	388	1274	997	1644	393	1632
Trinity*****	C	640	474	1043	619	979	34
Bonavista	P	703	430	660	562	742	325
	C	21	153	264	25	277	169
Fogo-*****	P	224	316	-	391	373	559
Twillingate	C	5	44	-	-	52	128
White Bay	P	-	-	-	17	92	24
	C	-	-	-	32	-	12
P-Aux-Basques	P	-	-	-	165	110	124
Codroy	C	-	-	-	7	-	9
S.W. Coast	P	-	-	391	421	306	639
*****	C	-	-	124	100	168	6

*Includes: St. John's, Petty Harbour, Portugal Cove, Torbay.

**Includes: Ferryland, Fermeuse, Renewa.

***Includes: Placentia, Little Placentia, Paradise.

****Includes: Harbour Grace, Carbonear, Bay de Verde until 1786.

*****Includes: Old Perlican, Trinity, Bay de Verde after 1786.

*****Includes: Fogo, Twillingate, Tilton, Gander Bay.

*****Includes: St. Lawrence, Burin, Hr. Britain, Boxey, St. Jacques, Fortune, Grand Bank, Mortier, Hadyene.

A Earle, Distribution of Roman Catholics and Protestants (St. John's, 1972).

Table 2:1 cont.

		1779	1786	1790	1793	1798
St. John's	P	870	888	1196	640	-
	C	923	1219	2482	2550	-
Bay Bulls	P	-	500	140	39	-
	C	-	690	445	342	-
Ferryland	P	-	854	238	321	66
	C	-	900	653	95	871
Placentia	P	885	650	264	46	-
	C	-	1140	476	460	-
St. Mary's	P	89	788	156	100	-
Trepassey	C	388	394	474	783	-
Harbour Grace	P	1983	3705	3106	3700	4568
Carbonear	C	2016	965	1852	2177	1677
Old English	P	1500	2017	520	1360	1007
Trinity	C	58	26	1005	223	332
Bonavista	P	-	363	742	450	-
	C	-	11	652	229	-
Fogo	P	204	645	241	235	-
Twillingate	C	-	-	734	128	-
White Bay	P	-	-	-	-	-
	C	-	-	-	-	-
P-Aux-Basques	P	-	-	-	-	-
Codroy	C	-	-	-	-	-
S.W. Coast	P	892	-	470	-	-
	C	-	-	749	-	-

second, the second great famine in Ireland which could be alleviated in Newfoundland by the ready supply of inexpensive food from the surplus in the American colonies. Much of the ensuing history of Newfoundland until the end of the nineteenth century involved, in some way, actual friction between the Protestants and Catholics or the attempt to maintain a peaceful balance of power among the religious factions.

Several attempts had been made by a number of Newfoundland governors to remove or restrict Irish immigration,²⁴ but none could claim much success. Their immigration was discouraged because the Irish were regarded with suspicion stemming from the conflicts between the English and Irish at home, the Anglican attitude opposing Roman Catholicism, and the fact that the Irish joined the French in the war with England at the end of the seventeenth century²⁵ and during Queen Anne's War. It was held that St. John's was lost because of the Irish unwillingness to fight.

24. Mannion states that in order to restrict the expansion of Irish settlement, officials tried to prevent the influx of Irish women. For example, Hugh Pallister issued an order in 1764 stating: "Notice is hereby given to all Masters of vessels arriving in this country that from the first day of April next (1765) no women are to be landed without security being first given for their good behaviour and that they shall not become chargeable on the inhabitants. . . ." and Governor Montagu wrote 10 October 1777: ". . . vessels coming from Ireland often bring unmarried women and girls, who have no friends here and are hired on as indentured servants. Having hired themselves to masters, they become pregnant and are an encumbrance to their masters and the inhabitants of this island. This is therefore to forbid all masters from bringing out women as servants from Ireland under pain of £10 for every person found on board." Cited in Mannion, "Irish Immigrants in Newfoundland", The Peopling of Newfoundland W.G. Handcock and J. Mannion (St. John's, 1977), p. 6.

25. J. Mannion, "The Irish Migratory Cod Fishery" The Peopling of Newfoundland, *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

alongside the English; furthermore they were said to have been informers for the French.

A second wave of Irish immigration coincided with the famine in Ireland during the 1760s. Again southern Irish labourers were driven out of the countryside to the major seaports in search of work and for a second time this happened during a time when the British were at war and the merchant marine was short of labourers. The Irish filled in for crew on the ships leaving Irish ports for Newfoundland. Another myth that must be dispelled is that the immigrants were members of the lowest classes, hardly more than common beggars and vagabonds. Handcock, Head, and Mannion maintain that this was scarcely true of those who came to Newfoundland after 1740 and certainly not true of those who arrived after the 1780s²⁶. The Irish, according to Head, although associated with the seaports of Waterford and Cork, 'were probably gathered not only from the towns, but also from the agricultural districts inland' and probably had a variety of skills, especially those associated with agriculture.²⁷ The failure of the domestic textile industry in southeast Ireland also influenced out-migration and meant that some of the Irish landing in Newfoundland probably were skilled textile workers. The English immigrants were also displaced artisans and farmers who were forced to leave England as a result of the great population growth, rising regional unemployment in areas that depended on traditional cottage crafts and farming, the reduction of prices paid to artisans and

26. W.G. Handcock. "Social Origins of the English" The Peopling of Newfoundland; Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland; J. Mannion. "Social Origins of the Irish" The Peopling of Newfoundland.
27. Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, p. 88.

farmers due to the advances in technology, and the economic recessions during the wars.²⁸ The new immigrants of the eighteenth century, therefore, were not, as has been believed, the poor and unwanted chaff of Ireland and England, but on the contrary, were people with skills who were forced to leave their homelands in search of work.²⁹

A second factor which was partly responsible for the change in the social structure of Newfoundland was the introduction of a new method of fishing - banking or offshore fishing. By the 1760s the inshore fishery was mainly an enterprise of the inhabitants; the offshore fishery became the province of the migratory fishermen. Since the methods used in the inshore fishery were much the same as those used in the seventeenth century, but those used in the offshore fishery differed - the offshore fishery required larger boats, fewer men and a different system of shore work - the migratory boat-keepers and servants associated with the offshore fishery decreased in comparison with the boat-keepers and servants involved with the inshore fishery.

The combination of a successful inshore and offshore fishery meant that by the 1770s life in Newfoundland could, with few exceptions, be said to have been flourishing. The summer activity rose to an all time high of 26,000 in 1772; the total Newfoundland fishery claimed a catch of about 700,000 quintals per year between 1770 and 1775;³⁰ one

28. See Table 2:2, p. 60.

29. Although several states in the United States were known to have been settled by people who chose to emigrate rather than enter debtors' prison and by those who had already been sent to prison for various crimes, there is no data to substantiate that this ever happened in Newfoundland.

30. C.O. 194/21 ; C.O. 194/32.

Table 2:2

Occupational Structure of English-Newfoundland Migrants, 1750-1830[#]

Trade	number before migration	number after migration
cloth	3	3
maritime related	13	13
artisan	24	15
agriculture	158	115
maritime	53	93
military	7	21

[#] W.G. Handcock, "An Historical Geography of the Origins of English Settlement in Newfoundland: A Study of the Migration Process" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1979), p. 365.

hundred and seventy-five trading ships from the northern colonies had brought foodstuffs in 1774;³¹ and the bank fishery numbered between one hundred and fifty and two hundred vessels.

Almost overnight, however, the American Revolutionary War disrupted this progress and caused widespread distress in Newfoundland. The summer activity dropped to 11,500 by 1781 and fish landings dropped to 386,000 quintals in 1776.³² After 1776 no supply vessels landed in Newfoundland from the American colonies and few arrived from other locations. The bank fishery, which had supplied almost half the catches before the war, almost closed down as the ships became targets of American privateers. The cost of food rose drastically between 1775 and 1776 and after 1776 food became so scarce that it was difficult to obtain outside St. John's at any price. The disruption of trade with the American colonies which began in 1775 had two lasting effects beyond causing extreme shortages of food: first, it shifted all trade activity to St. John's and, second, it made Newfoundland dependent on British and Canadian suppliers.

The post-war era was one of both boom and slump. The years immediately following the war were ones of great success in the fishery. The offshore fishery recouped and expanded to nearly two hundred and eighty vessels and the catch for both the inshore and offshore fisheries in 1788 was 950,000 quintals.³³ In addition, market prices rose to record heights during the early 1780s. As is most often the case though, with a

31. Before 1776 Newfoundland imported approximately 85 per cent of her food supplies from the American colonies. Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, p. 211.

32. C.O. 194/23.

33. C.O. 194/21.

surplus market, prices fell in 1788 resulting in overall profits that were lower than in years with lower catches and moreover, many vessels had to return home with their catches unsold. The markets remained depressed through 1790 causing great losses and bankruptcies in the Newfoundland trade.

In the midst of the depressed fishery, England entered war with France in 1793. The immediate effect of the war was a rapid decline in the offshore fishery which meant a slight advantage was given to the inshore fishery, but the overall depression left most Newfoundlanders in a terrible state of poverty. As would be expected, migration dropped and the residents were forced to rely upon their own resources for sustenance since supplies were scarce and costly.

By the end of the century, fishermen were often forced to use their family members as crew and the processors of the fish. Newfoundland ceased to be a haven for the unemployed of the British Isles. Most families became dependent upon their own gardens and fish to feed them and because of low returns in the fishery, men found new sources of income in the northern seal fishery and in ship building.

Patterns of Education.

The profound social, political and economic changes which took place in Europe and Great Britain were dramatically reflected in eventual changes in educational thought throughout the western world. The seventeenth century notion that virgin soil was all that was needed to establish the

perfect society, gave way after the reappearance of crime in the new communities and the collapse of many settlement projects to the idea that people themselves would have to be changed, and indeed could be changed, through proper education. This change of consciousness first appeared in the beginning of the eighteenth century, especially within church groups with the calling to educate the masses to the word of God and eventually also included the prescription that the lower classes could be educated to industry and proper behaviour.

The seventeenth century patterns of education in Newfoundland were essentially repeated in the eighteenth century. However, social, political and economic changes tended to exert pressure upon the patterns and brought about new developments within each of them. A new pattern emerged toward the end of the century. In all, church education, apprenticeship, naval training and private educational enterprise were the dominant patterns of the eighteenth century.

1. Church Education

Contrary to what has been written by many historians, the work of the churches in education in Newfoundland in the eighteenth century had quite a substantial impact, both directly and indirectly, upon the society. Appendix C provides a list of clergy and teachers with the areas, dates and types of service that were given in Newfoundland. There are indications that there were other teachers, lay readers and priests in Newfoundland and perhaps this incomplete list will arouse the interest of other researchers to further this study.

1.1 The Church of England

A radical realignment of the churches in the international power struggle and in their relationships with national governments began during the second half of the seventeenth century. In many countries religion was secularized - separated from the state - which meant that the practices and institutions of the churches were made completely voluntary.³⁴ That is, the churches could no longer claim control over every individual. This was the case in most Protestant countries, while in Catholic countries the Church did maintain its claim over individuals, however, in a role separate from that of the state.

The Church of England is one example of this phenomenon; its privileged position in relation to the government was lost during the third quarter of the seventeenth century and other Protestant sects were recognized as legal in England by the Toleration Act of 1689. Mehl, in his analysis of the sociology of Protestantism, points out that one reaction to this development was the birth of a Christian social movement with the establishment of societies parallel to the global society which provided a vast network of institutions such as schools and hospitals.³⁵ Mehl further suggests that the activity of these societies was directed at all "non-members" of the church, those of the working class (which he claims were never a part of the church) as well as "pagans".³⁶ The missionary movement in England demonstrates that this was the action taken by the

34. R. Mehl, The Sociology of Protestantism (London, 1970), p. 67.

35. Mehl, *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

36. Mehl, *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

Church of England in the early eighteenth century. A large number of societies were formed to create a domestic crusade to improve conditions at home and an international effort to convert heathens. Both of these pursuits were based on the central motive to put the Bible, the word of God, into the hands of all people in their own language and to make sure that they were able to read it. This meant that the Protestant missionary enterprise that was established in the eighteenth century united religion and education in a non-nationalistic, non-political framework; the eighteenth century mission was a church rather than a church-state activity. This was not the first time in history that religion and education were united by the Protestants; Luther and Calvin made education a foundation of Protestantism in the sixteenth century and clearly the church was actively engaged in education in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This was, however, the first time that Protestant missionaries made education an activity of the church on a worldwide scale largely separate from any state or political institution.

As the eighteenth century advanced poor relief, industry and education were united in England. The late seventeenth century promotion of workhouses as a measure to lessen the burden of the poor on the rate-payers and to correct abuses that were being committed against poor children, and the growing interest in and dependence on industrialization led to an attempt to train the poor to 'useful employment' and godly education. Soon the idea emerged that poverty was a condition that could be remedied through education. This idea was expanded via the Charity School movement which was begun by the Society for Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) in 1699. The aim of the SPCK was to 'weld together the

separate and occasional charity of the benevolent into an organized movement for the education of the poor". The SPCK did not actually manage schools and only rarely financed them; its policy was to "excite the interest and support of the parish clergy and laymen in the work".³⁷ Although by 1729 the SPCK was responsible for the establishment of over 1,600 schools in England with 34,000 pupils, its real significance lay in its promotion of the idea of the socialization of the poor to enable them to fit into the new social structure. From this, an entirely new concept of education developed, based not on the grammar school model, but on a curriculum which included "the catechism, reading and possibly writing and a little ciphering in the intervals of some industrial occupation".³⁸

Education for the poor, however, was not generally accepted. The practice was widely challenged on three major grounds: first, that the children would waste their time in idleness, learning irrelevant information and at the same time they would be foregoing wages that were badly needed by their families; second, some saw 'charity education' as an expression of unmitigated pride on the part of those sponsoring it³⁹; and third, others saw education as a vehicle for social mobility, something unnatural that would remove the poor from 'that station of life wherein Providence hath placed them'. Even liberal thinkers were quite careful to

37. I. Pinchbeck and M. Hewitt, Children in English Society Vol. 1, From Tudor Times to the Eighteenth Century (Toronto, 1969), pp. 288-289.

38. M.D. George, London Life in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1925, reprinted 1951), p. 218.

39. B. de Mandeville, The Fable of the Bees; or, Private Vices, Public Benefits with an Essay on Charity and Charity-Schools (London, 1732), p. 320.

state that they would support education for the poor as long as their learning did not interfere with their being brought up to industry and work.

The SPCK and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) were the two British societies most actively involved in promoting "Christian education" for all at home and abroad. According to the Reverend H.P. Thompson, the SPG had come into being in 1701 when it was felt by the members of the SPCK that the education of all the inhabitants of the British possessions required a body more firmly based upon the official support of state and church. It was also felt that the SPCK could not adequately support projects at home and abroad. Therefore, the SPG was formed to assume the responsibilities concerned with all overseas possessions. Among the needs set forth in the SPG charter, for which the society was committed to meet, was the provision of a "Mainteynance for Ministers" since " . . . Many of our Loving Subjects doe want the Administration of God's Word and Sacraments . . ." and also " . . . Learned and Orthodox Ministers to instruct Our said Loving Subjects in the Principles of true religion . . ." ⁴⁰

As Newfoundland attracted a more permanent population, it became one of the many areas served by the SPG in its North American mission. During the eighteenth century the SPG sponsored eleven ministers, eight ministers who were also teachers, and nine teachers in Newfoundland. There were also two unnamed teachers associated with SPG schools, who were not

40. H.P. Thompson, Into All Lands (London, 1951), p.2.

listed in SPG pay records.⁴¹

The ministers assigned to Newfoundland, besides needing a hardy constitution, had, in the words of Dr. Aubrey Spencer, to

"combine a patient temper; an energetic spirit; a facility to adapt his discourse to the lowest grade of intellect; a ready power of illustrating and explaining the leading doctrines of the Gospel and the Church to the earnest, though dull and ill-informed inquirer; and a thorough preparation for controversy with the Romanist, together with the discretion and charity which will induce him to live, as far as it may be possible, peaceably with all men"

In order to carry out the mandate of the SPG.⁴²

Those sent to Newfoundland as SPG teachers needed qualities similar to those cited for the ministers, as they too had to face the same conditions. According to an article written by Louise Whiteway, the teachers were expected to give instruction in the "Catechism and Anglican Ritual, to write a plain and legible Hand in order to the fitting them for useful Employments; with as much Arithmetic as shall be necessary to the same Purpose".⁴³

Reports from the Newfoundland missionaries often made mention of the hardships they encountered, but they also recorded the extent to which they were able to spread their influence. Baptisms, the number of communicants, the numbers of those who attended church services, and the communities that were visited by the missionaries were regularly reported

41. See Appendix C.

42. Cited in R. Christensen, "The Establishment of S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland, 1703-1783" Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, (June 1951) Vol. XX, No. 2, p. 207.

43. L. Whiteway, "The S.P.G.: Its Work in Newfoundland" The Newfoundland Quarterly, (Winter 1980) Vol. 75, No. 4, p. 36.

to the SPG secretary in England. Requests for books and tracts were frequently made and receipt and distribution of them were included in the missionaries' letters.⁴⁴ The books probably served as school texts for the children in many areas, but their titles reflect the broader concerns and aims of the SPG, and were not necessarily supplied with the needs of young children in mind.⁴⁵ The extensive distribution of books suggests that there were a number of literate people being served by the missionaries and the social backgrounds of the immigrants would also tend to confirm this. Although the rationale of the SPG education appeared to be similar to that of the charity education in England, the more probable motives were primarily the expansion of the influence of the Church of England and secondarily, the socialization of the children to fit the value system of the middle and upper classes in England who were sponsoring the mission.

1.2 The Methodist Church

In spite of the fact that the Anglican missionaries played a significant role in education in the eighteenth century and have claimed credit for all education, they were not the only providers of education in Newfoundland. "The Methodist missionaries were continually conscious of the

44. Requests for books were made in 1736, 1743, 1754, 1756, 1789 and 1799; distribution of the books was reported in 1728, 1737, 1743, 1746, 1760, 1761 and 1788. R. Lahey, United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1704-1800 (unpublished typescript, Memorial University of Newfoundland).

45. Some of the titles of the books distributed in Newfoundland in 1759 were: "Bibles, Common Prayer Books, Psalters, Primers, Church Catechisms, Preservatives against Popery, Protestant Catechisms shewing the Errors of the Romish Church". Lahey, *ibid.*, 1759.

lack of instruction and endeavoured to provide it . . .",⁴⁶ states — Parsons. The Methodists before 1785, however, were not sponsored by a formal society as were the Anglicans, but rather Methodist ideas were carried to Newfoundland by the Irish who had been influenced by John Wesley's preaching in Ireland in 1752 and by the rapid spread of them after that date. Lawrence Coughlan, credited with being the first Methodist leader in Newfoundland, arrived in Harbour Grace in 1763, sent, as he said, by God. Coughlan began his work in a manner typical of other Methodists of the time. He went from house to house four times each week, reading and expounding the scriptures, following the notion expressed by Wesley that "society could only be improved by improving the individual". Within the first three years after his arrival, Coughlan organized his followers into classes and attracted large numbers from the Conception Bay area to hear his Irish evangelical preaching.⁴⁷

Coughlan was granted the SPG missionary stipend in 1767 despite the fact that he had no connection with the Anglican Church and did not subscribe to the Anglican doctrine. His 'born again' method of preaching and attempts to enforce observance of the Sabbath received much opposition from the merchants in Harbour Grace, but were widely accepted among the Irish, even the Irish Catholics, in the communities in northern Conception Bay.⁴⁸

46. J. Parsons. "The Origins and Growth of Newfoundland Methodism 1765-1855" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1963), p. 94.

47. Parsons, *Ibid.*, pp. 1-17; Lahey, "United Society" reports 1767 to 1774.

48. Parsons, *Ibid.*, pp. 17-21; Lahey, *Ibid.*, reports 1769 to 1774.

In 1767 Coughlan first reported the need for a school for about ninety children in Harbour Grace. He opened the school in 1768 with the aid of teachers supported by the SPG. Together with frequent references to children studying the Bible and learning to read and write in the day schools and Sunday schools in the communities served by the Methodists, regular adult classes were reported held in Harbour Grace, Carbonear, Old Perlican and Lower Island Cove where a number of lay supporters continued to carry on the work begun by Coughlan. John Hoskins opened a day school for children in Old Perlican in 1774 where he also served as 'preacher'. Other lay supporters made regular preaching tours to various centres in Trinity Bay and Bonavista Bay.

In 1785 John McGeary arrived in Carbonear as the first missionary sent by the British Methodist Connexion to Newfoundland, but left in 1788 due to reported disunity in the area. He returned again in 1790 and with the assistance of William Black, a well-known Methodist missionary from Nova Scotia, was able to re-establish some permanence to the movement in the Conception Bay area.⁴⁹ George Smith, a second missionary sent from Britain, arrived in Newfoundland in 1794. He preached and formed classes in Conception Bay, Trinity Bay and Bonavista Bay. He opened a school in Bonavista in 1796, but was forced to leave Newfoundland the following year. According to Parsons, by the end of the century "several thousand had come into contact with the teachings and regularly attended the meetings" of the Methodists.⁵⁰

49. Parsons, *ibid.*, 34-40.

50. Parsons, *ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

In 1799 Reverend John Hillyard, a Congregational minister, was sent to Twillingate by the London Missionary Society where in the following year he established a day school, a Sunday school and a night school. The night school provided instruction for adults who desired to learn to read, but were unable to attend the day school. In 1801 Mrs. Hillyard joined her husband in teaching in the schools. Although the L.M.S. sent a number of other clergymen to Newfoundland during the nineteenth century, there is no mention of other schools that were under their sponsorship. (The school opened in Quidi Vidi had their support, but was under the direction of the Newfoundland School Society.)⁵¹

1.3 The Church of Rome

As we have seen in Chapter I, the Roman Catholic mission spread along the southwest coast from Placentia during the last decade of the seventeenth century and remained in that area until 1713. Since St. John's was held by the French between 1708 and 1713, Roman Catholic priests were in the town during that period. The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) did not outlaw the Roman Catholic religion as some historians have suggested, and according to Anspach, "the priests publicly practised their sacerdotal functions as if popery were the established religion of the country".⁵² However, after 1729, each governor in succession, stated Howley, "considered it his duty to signalize his tenure of office by a bigoted

51. Bi-centennial History Committee, The Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's 1775-1975 (St. John's, 1975), pp. 160-161.

52. Cited in Howley, Ecclesiastical History, p. 164.

proclamation against Catholics . . .".⁵³ While Howley claims that there were numerous incidents of house burnings, fines and banishments of persons thought to be Catholic,⁵⁴ Lahey states that open hostility between Protestants and Catholics was not a standard maintained in Newfoundland. Lahey notes that, quite to the contrary, "Christian cordiality" and "most perfect unanimity" were words used in the early nineteenth century to describe relations that existed between the social and religious groups in Newfoundland.⁵⁵ Governor Gower noted in 1804 that "there is perhaps a greater cordiality subsisting between the Protestant and Romish Communions . . . than is found in any other situation".⁵⁶

Despite the discrepancy, the anti-Catholic policy put forth by the governors was maintained until 1779 when it was officially discontinued by the new instructions given to Governor Edwards which established "a free exercise of Religion to all persons".⁵⁷ In 1784 Governor Campbell issued instructions to magistrates

"to allow all persons inhabiting this Island to have full Liberty of Conscience and the free exercise of all such modes of religious Worship as are not prohibited by Law; provided they be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same not giving offence or Scandal to Government" ⁵⁸

and gave priests the right to perform marriages. This open attitude was not shared by all and the appointment of Dr. O'Donel as Prefect Apostolic

53. Howley, *Ibid.*, p. 171.

54. Howley, *Ibid.*, pp. 171-174.

55. R. Lahey, "Religion and Politics in Newfoundland: The Antecedents of the General Election of 1832" (typescript), (St. John's, 1979), p. 2.

56. Cited in Lahey, *Ibid.*, p. 2.

57. Lahey, *Ibid.*, p. 4.

58. GN 2/1/10 Colonial Secretary's Letterbook, Outgoing, p. 138.

was criticised by some. During the governorship of Milbanke, 1789 to 1792, the situation reverted to the pre-1779 state, but ended with the departure of Milbanke and the arrival of the new chief Justice, Reeves, who upheld the law regarding religious freedom.⁵⁹

Due to the policy established by the governors, the priests who were in Newfoundland between 1729 and 1779 were forced to conceal their identities and this certainly meant that the Church could not maintain a mission or establish any formal educational institutions. The world-wide missionary effort of the Roman Catholic Church declined during the course of the eighteenth century⁶⁰ and when religious freedom was finally granted and accepted in Newfoundland, the Roman Catholic effort depended more upon the efforts of individual priests than on any organized missionary plan. According to O'Donel's orders in 1801, peaceful co-existence with the Protestants and obedience to English law were the priorities set forth for the priests; no specific educational directives were mentioned.⁶¹

2. Apprenticeship and Naval Training

Since the fishery continued to be the major economic activity associated with Newfoundland during the eighteenth century and the inshore fishery retained the characteristics which had been associated with it for the previous two centuries and there was ever increasing pressure in the British Isles toward out migration, it is not surprising that

59. Lahey, "Religion and Politics", p. 5.

60. S. Neill, Christian Missions (Baltimore, 1964), pp. 177-209.

61. Howley, Ecclesiastical History, pp. 204-205.

Newfoundland was the site of increased migratory activity, especially that associated with employment in the fishery and that of settlement. Statistics for the eighteenth century indicate that servants continued to be a major constituent of the Newfoundland population, from 81 per cent of the adult winter population in 1708 to 60 per cent of the adult winter population in 1795.⁶² Other statistics show that in one group 48 per cent of the migrants were under the age of twenty-five and in another 94.9 per cent were under twenty-five,⁶³ suggesting further that a large proportion of the migrants were young men and women who were probably apprenticed to the Newfoundland service. Parish records in Dorset from 1750 to 1830 indicate that the pattern of apprenticing children to the Newfoundland fishery was similar to the pattern established in the seventeenth century.⁶⁴ However, according to Handcock, parish apprentices accounted for less than ten per cent of the Newfoundland migrants.⁶⁵

It must be noted that in Newfoundland apprenticeship was not only a significant employment and educational pattern, but it was the ultimate foundation in the formation of permanent settlement. As Handcock stated, "...the skills of fishing, furring, and sealing were transmitted by those of prior experience in the places of exploitation /few of these skills could be acquired in England or Ireland/ from masters.

62. See Table 2:3, p. 76.

63. See Table 2:4, p. 77.

64. See Table 2:5, p. 77.

65. Handcock, "An Historical Geography", p. 350.

Table 2:3

Constituents of Wintering Population, 1698-1830[#]

date	masters	wives	children	m-servants	f-servants
1698	284	176	286	1894 (m+f)	-
1708	240	114	251	1554	-
1719	264	172	466	1346	81
1729	187	130	351	747	29
1739	377	371	992	2515	107
1749	726	547	1008	4829	202
1759	1109	760	3331	7191	372
1771	1171	826	3353	5751	356
1785	955	923	4270	3649	447
1795	2042	1896	7250	5021	792
1801##	2264	1899	6513	1907	763
1805	3257	2850	8883	5003	691
1811	3319	3907	11,338	4527	1368
1815	4646	4257	13,561	10,154	2237
1820	5373	5080	16,203	8975	2847
1825	6220	6201	21,278	11,741	4360
1830	9288	8249	27,977	6805	1862

Incomplete.

W.G. Handcock, (unpublished typescript) (St. John's).

Table 2:4

Age Structure of English-Newfoundland Migrants[#]

Age	Dartmouth seamen, 1788		Devon-Dorset settlement examinants, 1750-1830		Immigrants	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
5 and under	-	-	-	-	1	1.1
6-10	-	-	14	5.4	2	2.3
11-15	23	2.9	39	15.2	8	9.2
16-20	115	14.5	69	26.8	23	26.8
21-25	242	30.6	122	47.5	29	34.1
26-30	175	22.0	9	3.5	14	16.2
31-35	89	11.2	3	1.2	6	7.0
36-40	74	9.4	1	0.4	1	1.1
41-45	29	3.7	-	-	1	1.1
46-50	25	3.2	-	-	1	1.1
51-55	7	0.9	-	-	-	-
56-60	10	1.3	-	-	-	-
61-65	2	0.3	-	-	-	-

[#] Hancock, "An Historical Geography, p. 349.

Table 2:5

Age of Dorsetshire Parish Apprentices Serving in Newfoundland^{##}

Age	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
No.	1	5	18	32	36	31	10	8	2	-	2

^{##} Hancock, "An Historical Geography", p. 349.

to their servants and apprentices", so that "migration and apprenticeship in the conduct of the fishery was an essential prerequisite to becoming either a successful fisherman or planter in Newfoundland".⁶⁶

In the beginning of the eighteenth century seamanship training was incorporated into the rules of apprenticeship by the passage of the "Imperial Act 2 and 3 Anne, cap.6, An act for the increase of seamen, and the better encouragement of navigation, and the security of the coal trade" (1703) and the "Imperial Act 4 Anne, cap.6. An act for continuing an additional subsidy of tonnage and poundage, and certain duties upon coals . . ." (1705). The acts stated that magistrates or local overseers of the poor might

"bind or put out any boy . . . who is . . . of the age of 10 years, or upwards . . . to be apprentices to the sea service, to any of Her Majesty's subjects . . . respectively attain or come to the age of one and twenty years . . . to end that they may be made serviceable and beneficial to their country . . . shall be and are hereby directed to be taken up, sent conducted and conveyed into Her Majesty's service at sea. . .".⁶⁷

These two acts made it legal to bind boys (over the age of ten in the first act and thirteen in the second) into an apprenticeship for the navy and to impress any male of the lower classes over the age of eighteen. These acts were in effect from their enactment until 1828.

Although exact figures for the numbers of men and boys involved are not available, Handcock has estimated that "most years about one-quarter of the migrants were 'green men'".⁶⁸ Handcock was able to confirm in his

66. Handcock, "An Historical Geography", pp. 361-362.

67. I. Pinchbeck and M. Hewitt, Children in English Society Vol. II, From the Eighteenth Century to the Children Act, 1948 (Toronto, 1969), p. 108.

68. W.G. Handcock, "English Seasonal Migrations" The Peopling of Newfoundland, p. 5.

study of the occupational structure of English Newfoundland migrants that there was an overall increase of 14.8 per cent in the number of men in maritime occupations and an increase of five per cent of the number of men that had become part of the military after their first voyage to Newfoundland from the counties of Devon and Dorset between 1750 and 1830,⁶⁹ indicating that the policy of carrying 'green men' to Newfoundland did serve as a training programme for seamen and the navy.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century the migratory fishery became associated with the offshore fishery. The inshore fishery was taken over by the planters and the bye-boatmen. The servant population shifted from apprenticeship to the predominantly migratory merchants to an association with the planters and became permanent residents.⁷⁰ Palliser's Act (15 Geo. III, cap. 23), "An Act for the Encouragement of the Fisheries carried on from Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions in Europe, and for securing the Return of the Fishermen, Sailors, and others employed in the said fisheries, to the ports thereof, at the End of the Fishing season", was passed in 1774 partly to keep Americans and Bermudians out of the Newfoundland fishery,⁷¹ but mainly in response to the fact that so many of the fishermen had settled in Newfoundland and were not returning to Great Britain each season. In other words, the naval training system was no longer working because the trained men were staying in Newfoundland.

69. Handcock, "An Historical Geography", p. 365; See Table 2:2, p. 60.

70. See Table 2:3, p. 76.

71. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland, pp. 344-347.

In Palliser's "Remarks (to the Lord Commissioners for Trade and Plantations) on the present State and Management of the Newfoundland Fishery", he indicated in 1765 his concern over the decline in what he thought was the primary effort of the fishery when he stated:

"As the Value of the Labour of Seamen is undoubtedly the greatest of all labouring Men, for Defence of the State or for bringing in Wealth from abroad, so Ten thousand of them being lost to this Nation for either of those Purposes, during Six or Seven Months every Year, is alone a Matter deserving serious Consideration.

These inhabitants never become either good Fishermen or good Seamen; or if they were so, they are always out of Reach to be of Use for manning our Fleets on any Occasion, as effectually so as if they were taken and carried to a French Prison before a Declaration of War.

Inhabitants such as above described are no Security to the Country . . . "72

The Act confirms that the fisheries "have been found to be the best Nurseries for able and experienced Seamen, always ready to man the Royal Navy when Occasions require; and it is therefore of the highest national Importance to give all due Encouragement to the said Fisheries . . . "73

The Act, in order to support this position, put into effect a policy which greatly restricted settlement. However, with the failures of the fishery and the fish trade during the wars of the last quarter of the century, the permanent residents, both planters and servants, took over the fishery.

Moreover, the planters became more dependent upon the servants who had become permanent residents (almost 6,000 by 1795) and their family

72. Loc. Cit.

73. 15 Geo. III, cap. 23.

members for the processing of the fish. The planters who could no longer afford to keep apprentices enlisted their wives and children to do the shore work and the family fishing unit soon became a well accepted custom. Apprenticeship as a training, without formal indenture, was adopted by family members and servants, and in this form became a new pattern for the nineteenth century.

3. Independent Educational Enterprise

Some of the teachers listed in Appendix C were part of a fourth pattern of education that emerged during the eighteenth century. These teachers made up an independent educational effort and were divided into three main groups: teachers who offered a classical education to the children of the well-to-do in a formal classroom setting, teachers who gathered together the children of small outports and taught them rudimentary skills in one-room schools, and teachers who took a few students informally in a tutorial capacity.

The first of the formal schools for the "better classes" was the Grammar School headed by Reverend Lewis Anspach. In the autumn of 1798 about twenty-five of the principal merchants and inhabitants of St. John's met, formulated a plan to institute an "establishment of education for the children of both sexes on a liberal scale", and agreed to contribute a sum to guarantee three years' salary for a teacher.

The resolutions concerning the school specified that the teacher was to be a clergyman of the Church of England in good standing, and that he

74. L. Anspach. A History of the Island of Newfoundland. (London, 1819); p. 228.

should provide a suitable person to direct the female department and an assistant for the boy's school. They also specified the subjects to be taught and that the head-master should admit no child except such as should be sent to him by the subscribers.⁷⁵

Anspach, chosen in England to be head-master, arrived in Newfoundland 13 October 1799 and soon opened the school. A breach between Anspach and the subscribers immediately occurred over an incident with the governor. The school functioned in discord until the matter was settled by the Supreme Court a year later.⁷⁶ After the settlement, the school was operated according to the original contract. In 1802, the year the contract ended, Anspach moved to Carbonear to take up a position with the SPG as the Anglican minister in the community.

Few records of teachers in the second group, those who held classes in small outport schools, have been found; it is quite probable, though, that there were many more than are included here.

John Hoskins, who travelled to Newfoundland in 1774 specifically to open a school, did establish a day school in Old Perlican that year and at the insistence of the community, became its preacher. John Jones, the initiator of Congregationalism in Newfoundland, opened a day school in St. John's for children of all faiths, about the year 1785. He opened a second school, a charity school, in 1790. The charity school was taught by George Brace and, after 1799, the day school was led by Lionel Chancey

75. A. Barnes, "The History of Education in Newfoundland" (unpublished D. of Ped. thesis, New York University, 1917), p. 68.

76. Anspach, A History of the Island, pp. 230-236; Barnes, *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

and his wife,⁷⁷ Mr. Saunders began a class in Burin in 1793 and, on the recommendation of Reverend Evans, under the sponsorship of the SPG in 1794, Mr. Thomas started a class in Scilly Cove in 1794, and was recommended for and received the SPG teacher's stipend in 1796.⁷⁸

The third group of teachers, composed of community members who had the ability to read and write, who offered or were requested to instruct a few children, which also included parents who gave basic instruction to their own children, is probably quite extensive since requests for books supplied by the SPG were constant and when schools were opened many of the children were given advanced work. Unfortunately, most of the teachers in this group will remain unknown as their names were never recorded. Some of the few who were left for us were: Mr. Garnet who was known to have taken students in St. John's in 1775, Mrs. Bulpitt who taught between twenty and thirty children in Carbonear after 1799, and Henry Bennet who taught in Trinity for some years before 1758.⁷⁹

Summary

As we have seen in this chapter, Newfoundland was crucial during the eighteenth century for providing employment for thousands of men and ships and a market for English produce, as a source to earn foreign exchange, and perhaps most importantly, as a training ground for seamen for the British navy.

77. P. O'Neill, *A Seaport Legacy* (Erin, Ontario, 1976); p. 775.

78. Lahey, "United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1702-1800", 1793; 1794; 1796.

79. See Appendix C.

For Newfoundland, it was a period during which the permanent resident population was established and in which its own culture was born. In terms of education, apprenticeship and naval training were still the predominant patterns owing to the fact that the island was still mainly a fishing station. However, education under the sponsorship of Christian societies was given a definite foothold as the strength and general influence of Christian societies grew. Independent educational ventures were first evidenced in the middle of the century and established a pattern that was expanded more fully in the nineteenth century, but did affect a number of individuals who had no other access to formal education.

Although there were periods of prosperity during the latter half of the century, the several wars played havoc with the economy and settlement. It was not until the nineteenth century that the population became fairly stable and secure and that permanent social institutions were called for and were supported. Therefore, in the eighteenth century there was still a fairly fluctuating nature to the educational enterprise within the structure of the established patterns.

CHAPTER III - THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Social, Political and Economic Setting.

Philosophic discussions of social problems in the mid-eighteenth century had led to the suggestion that institutions were the source of the problems and that a return to the state of nature should be instigated. This solution proved to be impractical and ineffectual and was soon replaced by the demand to restructure institutions. Most existent social institutions, especially governments, underwent major revision after 1780. Experimentation with new ones was widespread. The reforms were, in general, attempts to make the institutions responsive to the needs of society and more utilitarian and were made on the basis of conclusions drawn after actual observation of society. (This was in part the new rationalism modelled on scientific method.) In a broad sense, all society was newly educated by the spread of new ideas and new social policies.

Some political reformers of the late eighteenth century began to include education in their requirements for social betterment. Thomas Paine, for example, a major supporter of educational reform, concluded in Rights of Man in 1791 that a nation "should permit none to remain uninstructed". Following this line of thought, a number of educational projects were undertaken in the beginning of the nineteenth century in England and education became a "political weapon" of many of the political reform groups. Those fighting for educational reform were primarily associated with the middle-class, who, according to

1. Paine cited in H. Silver, English Education and the Radicals 1780-1850 (London, 1975), p. 10.

Silver, were 'heirs to the 'moderate reform' tradition" and saw "the evolution of society in terms of the inevitable social and political leadership of the middle-class".²

Principally, middle-class educational reform was related to the development of mass education and the economic support of middle-class schools and university education. Specifically, the reformers promoted the monitorial schools, infant and adult education, collective and individual philanthropy, and parliamentary action (state intervention) in support of education and in the resolution of the conflict between the Anglicans and the Dissenters over the provision of education.

The political and educational reforms demanded and sponsored by the middle-class reformers in England also affected the colonies, sometimes directly (e.g. the abolition of slavery and the granting of self-rule for colonial possessions) and sometimes indirectly (e.g. by use of educational and social policy models in the colonies). Both cases can be traced in Newfoundland reform.

In Newfoundland the suspension of fishing activities of the Americans and the French, previously allowed in Newfoundland waters by rights granted to them in the Treaty of Versailles in 1783, combined with the suspension of the British migratory fishery during the war years (1801-1815), resulted in the indigenous population taking over virtually the whole of the commercial production of the island's fish.³ Because of the restricted

2. Silver, *Ibid.*, pp. 21-30. It is important to keep in mind the somewhat narrow perspective of this movement in terms of the policies that were advocated, namely their efforts were always directed toward the advancement of the interests of the middle-class although, at times, they voiced their demands in terms of that which would benefit all.

3. Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, pp. 232-233.

availability of fish on the European markets, the price of fish soared and, although large sums of money were still being taken out of Newfoundland by some merchants and were paid out to absentee landlords in England, greater amounts than ever before were remaining in St. John's as a resident merchant class grew and invested in permanent structures. It was this resident merchant class with the addition of a growing number of professionals which constituted a Newfoundland middle-class and began calling for, organizing and supporting social institutions for the island. This movement was directly parallel to the middle-class reform movement in England. Moreover, since the merchants and professionals were, for the most part, from the middle-class of Great Britain, the plans they advanced as improvements were similar to those of Great Britain. Considering this fact and the state of Great Britain during this period, it is astounding that so many accounts and official inquiries described Newfoundland in derogatory terms and that those descriptions were used as evidence against Newfoundland's preparedness for independence. In many respects social conditions in Newfoundland and England were similar.

It is important to note that while the sellers' market during the war gave some individuals the chance to accumulate vast fortunes, not all Newfoundlanders profited from it. The "truck" system of trade developed by the merchants in the eighteenth century meant that the merchants amassed the greatest profits. Although they did pay higher rates to the fishermen for the fish, the drastic increase in the cost of provisions together with the excessive profits extracted by the merchants gave only a few of the boat-keepers a reasonable income. The rest, while not in debt, were left to face severe food shortages and were forced to sustain themselves, as

they had in the depression of the 1790s, by cultivating their gardens, by eating their own fish and by hunting. This economic situation caused an ever widening disparity between the status of the merchants and that of the fishermen. With mercantile activity becoming more fixed and centralized in St. John's, the status of the merchants divided the interests of the residents of St. John's from those of the outports and furthermore, made noticeable the inequalities of class among the inhabitants of St. John's.

In October 1812 the first direct move made by Newfoundlanders toward political reform was made when a general meeting of St. John's inhabitants was called and a committee was formed to prepare a plan for a "Local and General Legislation". Dr. William Carson, a member of the committee wrote two pamphlets (the former a letter to the members of Parliament and the latter to the inhabitants of Newfoundland) in which he criticised the administration of the island, directed public attention to local problems and called for the formation of a colonial government which would grant the same civil rights to Newfoundlanders as the citizens of Britain had and other overseas colonies had been granted, namely a "civil Government consisting of a resident Governor, a Senate House and House of Assembly".⁴ At the same time Carson elaborated upon the need to encourage agricultural development and "above all others", he said, "It is a paramount duty, to attend to the education of the youth. On this point more than any thing else, hangs the happiness of States. An enlightened people cannot long be slaves; an ignorant people cannot long be free".⁵

4. W. Carson, Reasons for Colonizing the Island of Newfoundland, in a Letter Addressed to the Inhabitants (1813).

5. Carson, ibid., p. 22.

At the time, however, Britain was concerned with Newfoundland merely from a military standpoint, used its fisheries as a 'pawn in the diplomatic game'⁶ in the resolution of the international disputes, and was little interested in the problems of the Newfoundland community. It was not until after the wars that the situation changed.

In England utilitarian philosophy began to make some headway among middle-class reformers; some of their demands were met in regard to home policies and others brought about a review of colonial affairs. In Newfoundland, when the war with France was settled in 1814, the prices paid to fishermen for their fish reached an all-time high and the third great wave of Irish immigration began as Ireland once again experienced famine. In the following years the war-time prosperity in the merchant-class declined. Costs remained high, but the prices paid for fish dropped and import taxes, added to British cod sold on European markets, lowered the total amounts sold. American and French fishermen, competitors of the Newfoundland fishermen, reappeared in Newfoundland waters as a result of concessions made to the United States and France in peace treaties, and at the same time the fishery itself declined. The combination of these factors resulted in a great number of bankruptcies among the merchants. Moreover, since the fishermen were not prepared to sell their fish overseas or buy their own provisions (the merchants had always acted as middlemen between the fishermen and the markets), the already poor conditions in the outports suddenly grew worse.

for the succeeding two winters Newfoundland faced even greater

6. A.H. McIntock, The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland, 1783-1832 (London, 1941), pp. 107-108.

disasters: fires, severe cold, famine and riots. In the fire of 1816, 120 houses were destroyed in St. John's at an estimated loss of £ 100,000; the fire of November 1817 hit the warehouses along the wharves and 130 houses causing nearly £ 500,000 damage⁷; and nine days later another fire completed the devastation along the waterfront, destroying many food depots and most of the remaining winter supplies.⁸ The winter of 1816 was also recorded as one of the coldest and the thick ice in the harbours the following spring prevented the departure of the sealing ships and delayed the beginning of the inshore fishing season. Due to the scarcity of money and food, compounded by unemployment and large numbers of new immigrants, riots broke out and food stores were attacked.⁹

Apart from the fact that little could have been done to avoid the natural disasters, it became very apparent to civic leaders in Newfoundland that it was almost impossible to control the influx of immigrants or to alter the almost lawless conditions then existing in Newfoundland. The British government simply hoped that the problems would be resolved by the revival of the transient fishery. The merchants, however, dissatisfied with the condition of the Newfoundland trade and the government's decision to support a "concurrent fishery" with the United States and France, petitioned the British government to investigate the status of Newfoundland. Although the ensuing official enquiry noted the plight of the merchants and also pointed out the inadequacies of a "summer" naval governor and a part-time

7. An amount equal to the total annual income of the fishery. Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, pp. 232-233.

8. Head, Ibid., pp. 237-238.

9. Head, Ibid., p. 238.

court, the government refrained from making any radical changes in the existing laws regarding the fishery in the light of the anticipated return to the "ancient system" in the fishery. The governor was, nevertheless, granted permission on a yearly basis to dispense with the observation of the Acts of William III and Palliser and was required to remain the winter in Newfoundland and "inform the colonial office of what changes in the old system might be deemed expedient in view of the altered conditions existing in Newfoundland".¹⁰ The obvious new British attitude toward Newfoundland, for the time being, was somewhat non-committal and evasive, but the laissez-faire attitude in fact gave the governors greater power and allowed both the United States and France to claim more privileges.

With regard to the immigration "problem", in 1817 the British Committee for Trade considered, but finally rejected, a plan to transfer the unwanted from Newfoundland to Canada. Admiral Pickmore, Governor of Newfoundland, on the other hand, took it upon himself, under pressure from local magistrates, to ship over one thousand of the immigrants back to Ireland in 1816 and in each succeeding year until 1821 thousands were sent back to Ireland or shipped to Prince Edward Island or Nova Scotia.¹¹

The depopulation schemes did little to reduce the Newfoundland population which from 1803 to 1836 increased from 19,034 to 74,993, an average annual rate of 12 per cent.¹² When compared with eighteenth century figures which showed a 4.7 per cent annual increase of permanent population

10. McIntock, The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland, 1783-1832, p. 140.

11. McIntock, ibid., pp. 128-129.

12. See Table 3: I, p. 91.

Table 3:1

Population of Newfoundland, 1803-1836[#]

1803	19,034	1818	40,854
1804	20,380	1819	40,937
1805	21,975	1820	42,535
1806	---	1821	47,083
1807	25,234	1822	47,530
1808	24,625	1823	49,503
1809	25,157	1824	---
1810	---	1825	55,504
1811	25,985	1826	---
1812	30,772	1827	53,238
1813	32,749	1828	59,101
1814	35,952	1829	59,035
1815	40,568	1830	60,088
1816	41,898	1836	74,993
1817	43,409		

[#] J. Mannion (ed.), The Peopling of Newfoundland (St. John's, 1977), p. 13.

between 1713 and 1750 and a 5.6 per cent annual increase from 1750 to 1785, one can conclude that Newfoundland, for the first three decades of the nineteenth century, had become a rapidly expanding settlement area.

Britain's attitude toward the fishery changed after the war not only with respect to its over-all laissez-faire attitude, but also because it was argued that commercial sea enterprise was as good a training for seamen as was the Newfoundland fishery and furthermore, that since the migratory fishery had not yet been restored to pre-war levels of activity and most of the fishery was carried on by the resident fishermen, economically speaking, Britain was not gaining by means of the fishery.¹³ Therefore, the fishery was no longer considered a prime English asset worthy of protection.

Meanwhile, the Newfoundlanders were not content to allow the British government to give away the fishery or to continue the inadequate administration of the island. In 1820 Patrick Morris joined William Carson and the reform committee and published several pamphlets in which he drew attention to the changes which had taken place in Newfoundland, the needs for the continued well-being of Newfoundlanders and the abuses of the island's government. This time, though, the reformers focused their attack specifically on the injustices of the surrogate courts. It was decided at a public meeting to draw up a petition to present their case to Parliament. This resulted in the introduction in 1823 of a Newfoundland Laws Bill. The final outcome of the ensuing investigation was a complete revision of

13. McLintock, The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland, 1783-1832, pp. 137-138.

of the laws of Newfoundland in 1824 and its recognition as a colony, but without self government. Three acts were passed¹⁴ which, although they did not achieve all that the reformers envisaged, did however bring to an end the most abhorrent aspects of the old system.

The goal of complete Independence was not abandoned; Carson, Morris and the St. John's committee loudly and persistently continued fighting for the political rights that had already been granted to almost all of the other British overseas possessions. The social conditions which in the early 1820s demanded political action continued to demand change. Roads, a new hospital, an effective police and military force, a unified system of coinage, greater use of lands for agricultural pursuits, regulation of timber usage, a new and more secure jail, more Episcopal clergymen and a method to make local laws and raise revenue for public expenditure were all included in requests made to the Secretary of State.¹⁵

Combined with the trend toward granting political independence to British possessions, the reformers' demands in Newfoundland and Britain and the existing social conditions led to the royal assent in 1832 of representative government in Newfoundland.

14. Judicature Act, 5 Geo. IV, cap. 67; Fisheries Act, 5 Geo. IV, cap. 51; and Marriage Act, 5 Geo. IV, cap. 68.

15. Newfoundland, 1825: Some Historical Notes (St. John's) Typescript of Archive records.

Patterns of Education

The idea of schooling as a form of education for the masses was spreading within England, Canada and the United States. The arguments used by the middle-class and working-class reformers¹⁶ varied, although the end result was that by the end of the nineteenth century the idea of schooling for all children, supported by government funds and taxes, was widely accepted and put into operation. The political reformers in Newfoundland in the early nineteenth century, as mentioned previously, included education, specifically schooling, as one of the essential necessities required for the colony. Apart from political demands, individuals and groups opened a large number of schools which offered classes with a wide selection of classical, modern, industrial and social subjects. Broadly speaking, the structure of education in Newfoundland fit the changing pattern of British-North American education. The content and minor details, however, were adapted to fit local needs. As in Great Britain, though, the schools in the early years of the phase were sponsored by "societies". A second phase included private educational enterprise which gained in popularity as the middle-class expanded in the larger centres. And the third phase began when the British government refused further direct financial assistance to the Newfoundland School Society in 1833 and recommended that the society approach the Colonial Legislature for funds. The treasury of the new government was not yet in a position to support education; however, the representatives were much in favour of a system of popular education. When some of the more pressing business of the new

¹⁶ Reformers or radicals, as they were called derogatorily by the British conservatives. H. Silver, English Education and the Radicals 1780-1850, pp 4-5.

government had been taken care of and funds were available, the Newfoundland Legislature passed in 1836 the Act for the Encouragement of Education and appropriated £ 2100 to implement it. The legislation recognized the voluntary agencies which had assumed the responsibility for education by granting them £ 600 to be divided equally among the Newfoundland School Society, the Presentation Convent School and St. Patrick's School in Harbour Grace. The remaining £ 1500 was allocated to nine district school boards on the basis of population.

There is no doubt that the government had recognized the nineteenth century pattern of education, schooling, as the only pattern which it would support. With financial security and political backing, there is no wonder that this pattern continued to thrive and that no other pattern emerged either in the nineteenth or the twentieth centuries.

1. Society Supported Education

1.1 Charity Society Sponsored Schools

The existence of widespread poverty, a large number of unemployed immigrants and a growing number of orphans and children of the "lower classes" drew the attention of civic and church leaders to these people. Following the example set in Great Britain, a group of prominent citizens founded "The Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor in St. John's" in 1803. The Society combined a programme of direct relief to the poor with one of care for children. The care given to the children included provision for orphans, the making of arrangements for apprenticeships and the education of others.

With the assistance of Governor Gambier and later Governor Gower, a grant from the British government of £ 104 per year¹⁷, books supplied by

the SPCK and subscriptions contributed by "all classes of the community", the Society in 1804 opened and continued to oversee the St. John's Charity School.¹⁸

The school utilized the monitorial system which was developed in England by Joseph Lancaster and Dr. Andrew Bell. The system was a model for the National Society and British Society schools and later became one for grammar and public schools all over Great Britain, its colonies and the United States. The system was based on a structure where student monitors, directed by one master, would instruct large numbers of pupils divided into smaller groups. The teaching method was extremely mechanical and was well suited to "industrial" England.¹⁹ The extreme economy of the system made it attractive in areas where schools could not otherwise be afforded. The widespread use of the monitorial system in Britain and North America made the concept of mass or popular education realistic for the first time.

The curriculum of the monitorial schools was adjusted to meet the needs of the new economic order and subjects related to industry were usually taught. The teaching of some subjects, especially science in England, was challenged as it was feared that by educating the "lower ranks" society would be made less stable - a fear that was intensified by the French revolution. The counter argument to that of a broader curriculum was to restrict education to the 3Rs, to offer a moral and religious education

17. The Governor's Message, 10 January 1833 in The Newfoundlander, 17 January 1833.

18. A. Barnes, "The History of Education in Newfoundland" Unpublished Doctor of Pedagogy thesis, (New York University, 1917), p. 42.

19. Among numerous others Cf. E. Midwinter, Nineteenth Century Education (London, 1970), pp. 26-28.

and inculcate habits of useful industry.²⁰

Industry was the major focus of the St. John's Charity School. It was at once the means by which the boys and girls were trained for useful employment in the community and was a significant source of income for the Society. The school was divided into two departments (sometimes referred to as the "two schools"): one for the boys and one for the girls. Net making and repairing were the main industry of the older boys while knitting, carding, spinning, marking and sewing were taught to the girls. The articles (nets, wool, yarn, hose, socks, cuffs and plain work) made by the children were sold through the stores in St. John's and the money realized was used to pay for the upkeep of the school. Basic instruction was given to all the children and included reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic and keeping of accounts.

The several reports of the Society refer to different teachers associated with the schools. In the boys' division, Mr. Brake was replaced by Mr. T. Marshall in 1810²¹, Mr. Joseph Bacon was the teacher in 1829²², and Mr. Long was in charge in 1833.²³ The 1829 report announced the death in October 1828 of Mrs. Susannah Warne, the mistress of the girls' school for many years.²⁴ Miss Rennell was holding the position in 1829²⁵ and Mrs. Haile was the mistress in 1833.²⁶

20. D. Hardie, English Popular Education 1780-1975 (Cambridge, second edition 1976), pp. 85-88; H. Silver, The Concept of Popular Education (London, 1977), pp. 17-52.

21. A Report of the Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor of St. John's, From the 31st July 1808 to the 31st July 1809, p. 4.

22. Report of the St. John's Charity School Society, 14 July 1829, in The Royal Gazette, 28 July 1829.

23. Report of the St. John's Charity School Society, 17 October 1833, in The Public Ledger, 25 October 1833.

24. Report of the St. John's Charity School Society, 14 July 1829.

25. The Report, *Ibid.*

26. Report of the St. John's Charity School Society, 17 October 1833.

The Society's report of 1808-09 states that the attendance in the girls' division that year was between 70 and 90 per day except in the winter months when the attendance dropped due to the severe weather and the "sickly state of the children". The report also states that the girls were mostly under twelve years of age, that 74 had been newly admitted that year, that one girl had been apprenticed and several had gone out to service. In the boys' division there were between 80 and 100 attending daily, 44 had been admitted that year, 24 went out to the fishery, three were apprenticed to coopers, two to carpenters, one to a shoe-maker and five to the fishery. As of that year 378 girls and 247 boys had attended the Charity School since 1804.²⁷ Two years later the Society report accounted for the attendance of 461 girls and 341 boys.²⁸ The popularity of the school can easily be seen from the preceding figures. Judging by the reports, some of the children found positions in the community in which they could continue their education and, furthermore, would lead to permanent employment.

The 1829 report of the St. John's Charity School Society, as it was later known, claims that "105 Boys and 80 Girls attend daily - 34 Boys and 57 Girls have been admitted since the last anniversary, and 8 Boys and 54 Girls have left the School".²⁹ It also states that "the children are making rapid improvements in every branch of education which is taught at the Schools". The report of 1833 maintains that the "Institution is

27. A Report of the State of the Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor of St. John's, From 31st July 1808 to the 31st July 1809, pp. 5-6.

28. A Report of the State of the Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor of St. John's, From 31st July 1810 to the 31st July 1811, pp. 6-7.

29. Report of the St John's Charity School Society, 14 July 1829, The Royal Gazette, 28 July 1829.

improving in usefulness"; the aim of the Society to educate the poor children of St. John's and to "instruct them in some branches of useful and profitable labour" is being met. The report also announces that the difficulties with noise and space associated with the industrial activities were to be overcome by the addition of a factory.³⁰

The St. John's Factory was established in December 1832 for the purpose of "giving useful employment to the Poor of this town" by a committee of 36 ladies who in turn personally superintended it.³¹ It was later stated that the aim of the committee was to teach the most destitute "to obtain for themselves an independent livelihood, instead of depending wholly for their support on the eleemosynary assistance of the charitable".³² The position of master and mistress of the factory was advertised in September 1834,³³ however the plan laid out in the organizing committee report, later advertisements for workers and the 1835 report suggest that the factory was solely for the employment of women and salary was paid only to Mrs. Knight in 1834-35. In 1835 it was reported that above thirty people had been given permanent employment during the 1834-35 winter with the result of a "visibly decreased state of pauperism".³⁴ An impressive list of articles made at the factory indicates that the women, if not well trained before their employment, learned the skills required during that year.³⁵

30. Report of the St. John's Charity School Society, 17 October 1833, in The Public Ledger, 25 October 1833.

31. News item in The Royal Gazette, December 1832.

32. Report of the St. John's Factory Committee, 14 November 1835, in The Royal Gazette, 1 December 1835.

33. Advertisement in The Royal Gazette, 9 September 1834.

34. Report of the St. John's Factory Committee, 14 November 1835.

35. "656 shirts; 114 pair hose and socks; 43 pair cuffs and gloves; 224 mats; 187 lbs. worsted yarn; 52 canvass frocks; 80 pair drawers; 41 cabbage nets; 2 salmon nets; 9 straw hats; 12 pair trousers; 4 dressing gowns; 6 petty coats; pinafores; pillowcases; &c. &c." Report, *ibid*.

A request made to the clergymen of the different churches to preach a sermon in aid of funds for the charity, statements regarding the difficulty and expense of procuring cotton shirting to keep the women and girls employed and a resolution to re-open the factory as soon as sufficient funds could be raised to commence operations suggest that the factory, although very successful, had had to close for a period during 1835.

One extremely significant point regarding both the school and the factory is that the charity aspect of the Society, although supported by the clergymen and based on the model of charity schools of Great Britain, was not directly associated with a church movement. Because the Society relied on the charity of all the members of the community of St. John's, the Society has a distinctly non-denominational character. Moreover, the Society took what can be seen as a rather radical step in as much as religious education was not the base of, and was not even included in, the curriculum of the school.

In 1834 after the British government withdrew its support to the Charity School, it was decided at a meeting of the subscribers to the Charity School and representatives of the Newfoundland School Society (N.S.S.) to rent the school-house, garden and grounds to the N.S.S. with the understanding that the N.S.S. was to use the building for a charity school. The agreement stipulated that the Governor and the Chief Justice of Newfoundland were to be the President and Vice-President, respectively, of the school and were to have the responsibility of managing it. The N.S.S. was to be responsible for keeping the building in repair and operating the school which was to be named the "Central Union School".³⁶

36. Barnes, "The History of Education in Newfoundland", pp. 43-44.

A second charity organization, the Benevolent Irish Society, was founded in St. John's along with a sister institution in Conception Bay, in 1806 by a "number of Irish gentlemen, desirous of relieving the wants and distresses of their countrymen and fellow-creatures at large ..."³⁷ At the first meeting in St. John's it was unanimously agreed "that a society, formed upon true principles of benevolence and philanthropy, would be the most effectual mode of establishing a permanent relief to the wretched and distressed" and so it was decided to form a purely unsectarian society whose membership was restricted only by the qualification that the person be either an Irishman or a descendant of one.³⁸ Subscriptions to the Society were made by the leading businessmen, clergymen of both Protestant and Roman Catholic churches and government leaders.³⁹ The officers of the Society were both Protestant and Roman Catholic Irishmen.

The charity's first aim was relief of the poor and to that end the Society distributed mainly food and, like other charities in England and the Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor of St. John's, they placed the children of the most unfortunate families "out to good masters."⁴⁰ It was not until 1823 that a proposal was made that the Society establish an asylum for the support and education of the numerous orphans. At that point funds were immediately sought for that purpose. In 1825 a supplementary proposal was added to include a school in the plans and further funds were sought for the erection of a building. The school, The

37. Howley, Ecclesiastical History, p. 227.

38. Howley, Ibid., pp. 227-228.

39. Report on the Orphan Asylum School Room, 18 February 1828, in The Royal Gazette, 4 March 1828.

40. N. Veitch, "The Contribution of the Benevolent Irish Society to Education in Newfoundland from 1823-1875". Unpublished Master's Thesis (St. Francis Xavier University, 1965), pp. 24-28; Howley, Ecclesiastical History, pp. 226-228.

Orphan Asylum School (OAS) began operating in 1826 under the direction of Mr. Henry Simms and Mrs. Eden in temporary quarters at the house of Mr. Gill.⁴¹ Land for the proposed building was granted in June 1826; the building was completed in 1827; and the school was transferred to the new building that fall.⁴²

It was reported that by early 1827 there were 136 boys and 70 girls enrolled at the school.⁴³ and in 1828, 231 boys and 152 girls enrolled.⁴⁴

In keeping with the speech made by Mr. Timothy Hogan, the Chairman of the Society, in which he stated: "Public opinion is, I am glad to find, in favour of the universal diffusion of knowledge, and, it is found, although slow in its progress, to be the most effectual remedy against pauperism",⁴⁵ the students were taught navigation, bookkeeping, English grammar, arithmetic, reading, writing and spelling.⁴⁶ No mention was made, however, that the school in any way attempted to include industrial training such as was included in the Charity School programme.

Since the original objective of the Benevolent Irish Society was to provide unsectarian aid to the poor, it rigidly maintained a policy which kept the school open to children of all denominations and permitted no religious education during regular instruction time. The members of the Society were, nevertheless, concerned with the spiritual well-being of the children and directed that clergymen should instruct the children at times.

41. The Orphan Asylum School Treasurer's Report, 1826-1827, in The Royal Gazette, 4 March 1828.

42. Velch, "The Contribution", pp. 33-46.

43. Velch, *Ibid.*, p. 43.

44. Report on the Orphan Asylum School Room, 18 February 1828, in The Royal Gazette, 4 March 1828.

45. Report, *Ibid.*

46. Velch, "The Contribution", p. 46.

set apart for that purpose.⁴⁷ Owing to the fact that most of the Irish in St. John's were Roman Catholic, the school became a haven for Roman Catholic children. In 1833 the girls who had formerly attended the Orphan Asylum School were transferred to the care of the Presentation Sisters in the new Presentation Convent School. From that time on the OAS was attended only by boys.⁴⁸ The Benevolent Irish Society continued to support and administer the OAS with the aid of a grant from the Newfoundland government until 1876 when the school was given over to the Irish Christian Brothers.

1.2 Religious Society Supported Schools

While the St. John's Charity School and the Orphan Asylum School clearly tried to remain outside of the disputed area of religious education, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which had had an extensive history in Newfoundland during the eighteenth century, held tightly to its religious bias in its educational work in the nineteenth century. Between 1800 and 1823 the SPG had from two to four missionaries and from three to eleven schoolmasters each year. In 1824 there were six missionaries and eighteen schoolmasters and there were plans to increase the number of missionaries by four⁴⁹ and schoolmasters by eight.⁴⁹

When Bishop John Inglis of Nova Scotia visited Newfoundland in 1827, he reported that "a large increase of the clergy and schoolmasters is immediately required".⁵⁰ With the granting of the first archdeaconry in Newfoundland to Reverend Coster in 1829 followed by Edward Wix in 1830,

47. Veltch, *ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

48. Veltch, *ibid.*, p. 56.

49. Whiteway, "The S.P.G.: Its Work in Newfoundland", p. 41.

50. Cited in Whiteway; *ibid.*, p. 41.

the Church of England with the financial backing of the SPG, rapidly increased its staff in Newfoundland. The governor, in his message to the House of Assembly, 10 January 1833, stated that there were "35 Schools under the Established Church, and 35 Teachers".⁵¹ Schools opened by the Newfoundland School Society after 1824 added to this number and shared the responsibility of providing "Anglican education".

The Methodist Missionary Commission was the second church society involved with Newfoundland education. As mentioned in Chapter 11, Methodist work began on the island in 1763 when Lawrence Coughlan arrived in Harbour Grace. According to Parsons, the work of the Methodists was always associated with education and, with the appointment of regular missionaries to the island at the beginning of the nineteenth century, their educational services expanded. Although the Commission did not originally sponsor or subsidize teachers, records indicate that Mrs. James Bulpitt, wife of the missionary in Carbonear, was "in the habit of teaching from 20-30 children to read, write, and work" and also that a school for girls was opened in Carbonear in 1813 "under the guidance of the missionary's wife, Mrs. Bushby".⁵²

When the Newfoundland School Society announced their intention to open schools in Newfoundland, the Methodist Missionary Commission welcomed their efforts and resolved "that a subscription of twenty pounds a year for at least three years be made to the commission of the Newfoundland School Society" on the assurance "that the children in Newfoundland schools be

⁵¹ The Governor's Message to the House of Assembly, in The Newfoundlander, 17 January 1833.

⁵² Parsons, "The Origin and Growth", p. 96.

at liberty to attend at their respective places of worship...".⁵³ Parsons suggests that the Methodists soon became dissatisfied with the Newfoundland School Society since their schools were biased in favour of the Church of England, the schools were not placed in areas where the Methodists were strongest and thus did not serve their needs, and furthermore, the Newfoundland School Society conducted school on Sundays which interfered with Methodist Sunday schools. This discontent led the Methodist Missionary Commission to resolve in 1825 that that year's money be paid but that before the next year an enquiry would be made concerning the future.⁵⁴

In 1824 the Commission had also passed a resolution to allow the Newfoundland District "to employ 3 schoolmasters at an average allowance of twenty pounds". That year regular schools were opened in Blackhead, Bay Roberts and Portugal Cove.⁵⁵ According to Arthur Barnes, the Wesleyan School Society which had been established in 1813, was operating in 1824 "no less than twenty schools" providing classes for 1200 pupils.⁵⁶ These schools were under the direct supervision of the Methodist Commission and were carefully regulated by it.⁵⁷ It must also be noted that much emphasis was placed on the work done at Sunday school. This work included reading and writing and was reported in 1825 to serve 1344 children.⁵⁸ By 1834 there were thirty-two Sunday schools with an enrollment of 1373 pupils and a staff of 153 teachers.⁵⁹

53. Parsons, *Ibid.*, p. 97.

54. Parsons, *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

55. Parsons, *Ibid.*, p. 98.

56. Barnes, "The History of Education", p. 55.

57. The regulations stipulated by the Methodist Commission are to be found in Parsons, "The Origin and Growth", pp. 100-101.

58. Parsons, *Ibid.*, p. 103.

59. Barnes, "The History of Education", pp. 55-56.

4.3 School Society Sponsored Schools

A third type of society associated with education in Newfoundland was the "school society". The Newfoundland School Society (N.S.S.), known at various times by other names, was officially formed on 30 June 1823 to establish "... schools in the island where special emphasis would be placed on Bible instruction and the sending out from England of devout teachers who would devote themselves entirely to the spiritual enlightenment of scholars and parents".⁶⁰

A strong evangelical cast among the early organizers and supporters of the Society gained for the Society support from the Colonial Office and a number of influential British government members.⁶¹ Backing of the Society came also from the British government in the form of land grants for schools, free passage for teachers in HM ships, instructions to Newfoundland officials requiring local support of schools and direct financial aid.⁶²

(The evangelical connection, however, suggested that one of the fundamental objectives of the Society was "the conversion of the heathens" and "the saying of sinners". Although the schools "were to be undenominational in the sense that they would accept children of all faiths and that instruction in the church catechism was to be given only to the children of Anglican parents", the teachers were all to be members of the Church of England⁶³, trained at the National Society's Training School in London⁶⁴, and the schools were to follow "as nearly as circumstances may permit the

60. W.B. Hamilton, "Society and Schools in Newfoundland", Canadian Education: A History, J.D. Wilson, et al. eds, (Scarborough, Ontario, 1970), p. 131.

61. W.P. McCann, "The Newfoundland School Society, 1823-1836". Unpublished typescript, (St. John's, 1972), p. 16.

62. McCann, *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

63. McCann, *Ibid.*, p. 21.

64. Hamilton, "Society and Schools", p. 132.

monitorial system of Dr. Bell"⁶⁵ the method advocated by the Church of England's educational organization, the National Society. After the schools had opened it was reported that N.S.S. teachers were behaving like missionaries: frequently distributing Church tracts, reading the Church services on Sundays and conducting Bible classes. In 1834 in the report of the Society, it was admitted that "Spaniard's Bay was, in effect, a missionary station and that the Society's teacher there virtually a missionary".⁶⁶ The evangelical bias of the Society and its teachers also guided the instruction in the schools which, for the most part, was "directed to the communication of divine knowledge". Reports record that reading, writing, arithmetic, net making for the boys and sewing for the girls were taught along with Scripture, hymns, moral behaviour and strict obedience.⁶⁷

Although the religious aspect was immanent, the Society argued that education was necessary "... on commercial as well as moral grounds..."⁶⁸ The adverse social and economic conditions, the inability of some of the Newfoundlanders to read or write and the large numbers of immigrants justified this argument in the local context. The strong force of the new economic order in Great Britain shifted the emphasis given to education to one of industrial preparation from one of solely religious concern.

The Society's claim that there were in 1823 "only 16 schools in the Island to serve a population of some 70,000 people"⁶⁹ misrepresented the Island's need for N.S.S. schools; however, it did win for the Society

65. Hamilton, *Ibid.*, p. 131; McCann, "The Newfoundland School Society", p. 21.

66. Report, cited in McCann, *Ibid.*, p. 32.

67. McCann, *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24; 28; 31-34.

68. *Christian Observer*, August 1823, cited in McCann, *Ibid.*, p. 15.

69. Cited in McCann, *Ibid.*, p. 13.

the approval of the British government and sufficient financial support to begin their "educational mission". The first N.S.S. school was opened in St. John's in 1824. This was soon followed by the opening of N.S.S. schools in Twillingate, Greenspond, Bonavista, Harbour Grace and Port de Grave, and since part of the organizational plan of the Society was to train "monitors" and "student teachers", branch schools staffed by locally trained personnel were opened in twenty-one smaller communities. The Society's report of 1832 claimed that a total of 4,002 day students, 2,498 Sunday School students and 936 adults had attended N.S.S. classes since their inception in 1824.⁷⁰ By 1836 the Society claimed to have 43 day schools, 9 principal schools and 34 branch schools. However this number is questionable since the Blue Book for 1837 reports only 24 schools.⁷¹ During the period between 1823 and 1837, the Society claimed to have served a total of 16,500 children and adults.⁷²

In spite of the rapid spread of the Society's schools, the N.S.S. did not meet with the approval of all those involved with education in Newfoundland. As previously mentioned, the Methodist Missionary Commission withdrew its support of the N.S.S. after 1825. Archdeacon Cosser, the leading Anglican minister in Newfoundland, did not openly oppose the N.S.S., but he did encourage the SPG to send more catechists and schoolmasters to Newfoundland,⁷³ a probable sign that he was not completely satisfied with the Society's schools. The Society did, however, find

70. Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1832 in The Times, 3 October 1832.

71. Cited in McCann, "The Newfoundland School Society", p. 41.

72. McCann, *ibid.*, p. 42.

73. McCann, *ibid.*, p. 35.

strong disapproval among the reformers who supported the notion that Newfoundland's destiny must be determined by the native peoples and especially in Patrick Morris who spoke out against the N.S.S. leaders who, he claimed, "monopolized the credit for 'all education, all the morality and all the religion'"⁷⁴

Financial support to the Society by government was rescinded by the new Legislative Assembly in 1833. The British government was petitioned for funds, but refused assistance and suggested that the petitioners seek help from the Colonial Legislature. From that time it was clear that the British government would not financially support education in Newfoundland and henceforth education would be entirely a "local" responsibility.

2. Independent Educational Enterprise

2.1 Private Schools

The second prominent pattern of education in Newfoundland in the nineteenth century was once again drawn from a British model. Many of the private schools in Newfoundland were for the children of those of the middle-class. Although most of the schools offered programmes for children and youth, some also were open to adults in the evening. There were also a number of special schools which offered instruction related to leisure activities.

This educational pattern had a modest beginning in the late eighteenth century; however, it can be said to have been flourishing in the early nineteenth century. After the commencement of publication of the

⁷⁴. McCann, *ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

Royal Gazette, the first Newfoundland newspaper, schools were advertised by teachers and often indicated courses of instruction, fees, qualifications for students and news of the progress of the schools. Schools and private instruction were also advertised in The Public Ledger and The Newfoundlander after 1827 and The Times after 1832.

Appendix D, which covers only 17 years,⁷⁵ includes over fifty schools located in the St. John's community as well as one in Carbonear and one in Harbour Grace during the period between 1810 and 1835. Of these schools, four were for adults only; twenty-nine stipulated that they were for youth; another eight, although they did not state that they were for youth, offered courses clearly meant for this age group, and seven advertised that they were serving children at the primary level. Eleven of these schools offered accommodation to boarders, indicating that students from communities without schools or without schools at an advanced level could study in Newfoundland. The advertisements further stated that five of the schools were for boys only; other schools for youth suggest by their courses and male teacher that they were meant for boys. Nine of the schools were for girls only and eleven were open to both boys and girls. Several of these schools were run by husband-wife pairs or even families; the men taught the boys while the women taught the girls.

The schools offered a wide variety of courses. Seven schools offered a strictly classical programme, three schools offered only vocational courses (e.g. bookkeeping, navigation, etc.), eleven schools covered the 3Rs plus one or two other basic subjects, ten schools were special schools (e.g.

75. Newspapers of 1819 to 1827 were not available for this study.

dance, music, riding, drawing, penmanship, etc.), three of the girls' schools stated their programmes to be "modern and genteel", and fourteen schools offered a programme which included a mixture of classical, basic and vocational courses. Other than the special schools, six of the schools were open evenings, presumably for students who were working during the day.

Apart from the two schools which were taught by Reverend Henry Fitzgerald and Reverend J.G. Lowe, none of the other schools had any religious affiliation. Moreover, religion was not included in the subject listings of any of the schools. While we cannot conclude that there was no interest in religious training, it does seem that the more dominant concern was the preparation of students for the economic sphere rather than for religious purposes. This seems especially so within the middle-class schools. In the Charity School, however, we could see similar evidence of this trend for the lower classes as well.

2.2 Private Instruction

Further evidence that the people of St. John's were actively seeking formal education is in the list of private tutors who advertised their services in the St. John's newspapers.⁷⁶ These teachers, like those associated with day and evening schools, offered a wide variety of subjects including classical, basic, vocational and specialty areas.

3. Apprenticeship and Naval Training

It may appear that the proliferation of schools put an end to apprenticeship by taking over the responsibility for the training of youth, but

⁷⁶ See Appendix E.

this was hardly the case.

Apprenticeship and naval training were diminishing as a result of the decline in the numbers of participants in the migratory fishery, the basis for both. Apprenticeship was further curtailed in Newfoundland by its diminution in England as a result of the growth of industry; both masters and youth found employment in the factories.

From time to time, there were notices in the St. John's newspapers for apprentices, but these were infrequent. The St. John's Charity School arranged apprenticeships for their students, but these, too, were few.

"Servants", by the nineteenth century had virtually become paid employees and were expected to be trained previous to their employment. (Another reason for the emphasis on vocational training in the schools.) For the most part, children from working-class families in Newfoundland, as well as in England, were, in the early nineteenth century, expected to work along with their parents. Children of the middle-class were expected to learn a vocation in school.

The merchant marine, which had increased in response to the growth of the Empire and the expansion of commercial trade, assumed the role of naval training that the Newfoundland fishery had previously held and thereby put an end to that pattern of education by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Summary

The first three and one half decades of the nineteenth century were,

like previous eras in Newfoundland's history, times of great change. Economically there were great fluctuations between extreme highs and lows. Politically, the old system was shown to be unjust and unable to meet the needs of a sedentary society and a new system had to be created. Socially, the population grew rapidly and split according to interests: out-port versus St. John's and working-class versus middle-class.

The economic, political and social structures of Great Britain changed radically during the same period. The patterns of new institutions in Great Britain affected directly and were used as models for institutions that were developing in the colonies. This can readily be seen in the case of Newfoundland.

In education, the predominant pattern of apprenticeship and naval training of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had almost disappeared in the early nineteenth century. The altered pattern of the eighteenth century church, the missionary pattern, remained a major pattern of the early nineteenth century. Schooling as a means of popular education grew directly with the rise of a resident middle-class in Newfoundland and quickly became the dominant pattern. Society-sponsored and private schools laid the foundation upon which the Colonial Legislature, in the hands of the middle-class, later built a government supported school system.

CONCLUSION

Karl Marx stated that "the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e. the class, which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force".¹ Marx, however, was interpreting history within the context of a society clearly divided by class lines. Spring, writing more recently, has altered Marx's claim slightly when he states "the content of what is taught depends on who controls society".² Considering this position then, the question "What happened in the history of Newfoundland education before the Education Act of 1836?" turns out to be a question far more complex than just one of educational happenings. The study therefore becomes one of the context of educational history. In this thesis the general history and patterns of education have not only demonstrated that Spring's assumption is correct, but also that the structure of education has depended upon who controls society.

In this thesis the early history of Newfoundland education has been divided into roughly three sections, each relating to approximately one century. The first chapter covered the period between 1578 and 1700, an era when the Christian church, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, clearly controlled society. Primarily all people, whether wealthy or poor, lived by rules, regulations, laws, precepts, dogma, etc. initiated and interpreted by the clergy and secondarily, were knit together in their communities by relationships of trade. The second chapter dealt with the

1. K. Marx. The German Ideology cited in J. Spring, A Primer of Libertarian Education, p. 70.

2. Spring, IBID., p. 30.

eighteenth century, a time when the Church was losing its pervasive control and society was caught in a transition to a new world order. In the third chapter, the early nineteenth century saw the emergence of the middle-class as the controlling force of that new world order. The patterns of education which were dominant in each of these epochs were bound to the controlling power of that time. Thus in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the church and trade relationships defined education. In the eighteenth century the church in an attempt to retain its social control focused its attention on the global village and created the "missionary" to educate (and save) those people who had formerly been outside the church's sphere of influence. By the turn of the nineteenth century the middle-class, who had gained economic control during the eighteenth century, was beginning to invest their energy in gaining political and social control. They at first argued for popular education and then created the means by which they could implement it. When self-government was granted to Newfoundland in 1832, political power was turned over to the middle-class professionals and merchants of the island. Schooling was the only form of education recognized and supported by the new government.

For the English, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were years of political indecisiveness, great strife in their attempts to settle on the island, high mobility in a migratory fishery, war and pirating. In contrast to these inconsistencies, they were times of social traditionalism with respect to church and community structure. The church provided in England a formal education system, it established and promoted national and international "political" policies and it directed social

behaviour. Community and family structure depended upon trade relationships. Father was "master"; he directed craft and/or agricultural activities and initiated the youth by way of apprenticeship in his area of expertise.

Sixteenth and seventeenth century education in Newfoundland reflected the social control of the church in policies made to settle on the island, to honour the sabbath and to establish the Church of England. Education in Newfoundland also reflected the importance of apprenticeship to the British society in general and Newfoundland was the site in which many young men served out the terms of their indentures. Furthermore, the Newfoundland fishery served as the training ground for the British navy. Through legislation, all crews had to include "green" men or naval apprentices. No formal physical structures were erected on the island for educational purposes since the majority of the population remained highly mobile throughout these centuries. Schools in Great Britain served the youngest children. The youth in Newfoundland were there to serve apprenticeships only. There is no mention of the building of any English churches in this period, although it is possible that some were built in a few of the larger settlements.

For the French, the seventeenth century included settlement which was integrated with church policy. Priests led and controlled community activities, including the teaching of the children. Records clearly describe the building of churches in the French settlements, and these probably served as schools for the children.

For both the French and English in Newfoundland during this early period, education was primarily a function of the Church of Rome and the

Church of England. For the English, education was also an extension of apprenticeship, the structure of trade relationships in Great Britain.

The eighteenth century in Newfoundland was a century in which permanent English settlement was finally established. The French were officially expelled in 1713 and while the French continued to fish in Newfoundland waters and settle in small numbers, they never became a major social influence politically.

England, as a nation, gained world political power and a global empire during the eighteenth century. The decline of the political power of the Church of England during the third quarter of the seventeenth century accounted for a realignment of social function within the church. By the early eighteenth century its new role as spiritual saviour of the empire emerged and its influence spread throughout the world as the British empire grew.

Education in Newfoundland during this century changed structurally only with regard to the change in the Church of England. The apprenticeship pattern, as well as the naval training pattern, changed only with regard to the numbers of people who participated in it. The Church's missionary service, the SPG, sponsored ministers and teachers in Newfoundland and sent Church tracts to be distributed to the people. Economic and social changes within Britain were reflected in changes in the content of educational curriculums. Poverty and criminal behaviour were newly thought to be "correctible" through education. Mass education became a philosophic consideration within the context of political as well as social grounds. Charity education, via the churches, was established to instill in the poor notions of industry and moral behaviour. This

educational content was transported to Newfoundland by SPG teachers and clergymen.

The Methodist missionaries, in the latter half of the century, settled in Newfoundland and began spreading their influence, especially among the Irish in Conception Bay, by means of church services, Sunday schools and Bible classes.

Politically speaking, the eighteenth century was a period of transition. The British government was considerably non-committal as far as Newfoundland affairs were concerned; her interests were strictly those related to trade. The economic order was gaining power and the church was losing it. Economic concerns were incorporated in the curriculum of church structured education.

The beginning of the nineteenth century in Great Britain already showed signs of the shift to an economic and class oriented world order. The merchants and professionals who made up the new middle-class, having regained prominence and power via the economy, vied for political control. Reformers recognized the importance of education for strengthening the middle-class directly in terms of training in mercantile and professional skills and indirectly in terms of gaining control over the working-class.

In Newfoundland the middle-class followed roughly the same path as it had in Great Britain. First merchants and professionals gained economic control and then sought political control. Education, in the form of schooling, based on economic principles (form and content), had been introduced to Newfoundland via the church missionaries in the eighteenth century. Schooling as a pattern of education spread rapidly as the middle-class formed a permanent segment of the Newfoundland society. Private

educational enterprise expanded during the first three decades of the century. Societies, another British invention, sponsored education in three forms: charity societies, religious societies and school societies. Mainly because of the demise of the migratory fishery and slightly because of the decline of apprenticeship as an educational pattern in Great Britain, apprenticeship and naval training as patterns of education in Newfoundland became extinct.

We see therefore, in three centuries, a shift from a world order dependent upon the church to one dependent upon economic interests. The power structure of the former society was controlled by the church and in the latter by middle-class entrepreneurs. Education, in its content and structure, corresponded with this evolution.

It would be incorrect to assume that education in Newfoundland was unique. It would be equally incorrect to assume that its patterns originated in Newfoundland. Alan Pomfret's argument that Newfoundland education is related to Newfoundland's status as a peripheral society³ offers a further explanation to support these conclusions.

From here we must continue to investigate the history of Newfoundland education and question the current status of Newfoundland and its educational pattern(s).

3. A. Pomfret. "Historical School Change in a Peripheral Society: A Working Paper on Newfoundland". (St. John's, 1977).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- C., T. A Short Discourse of the Newfoundland. Dublin: Society of Stationers, 1623.
- "Calvert' Proceedings Against Kirke: Notes and Documents". Canadian Historical Review. Vol. 8. June, 1927, pp. 132-136.
- Carson, William. "Reasons for Colonizing the Island of Newfoundland" (1813). A letter addressed to the Inhabitants.
- "Governor Cochrane's Message to the House of Assembly". The Newfoundlander, 17 January 1833.
- "A Letter from Thomas Cowper, Edward Carton and John Harrington to Sir Percival Willoughby" 23 August 1612. D. Quinn. New American World. New York: Arno Press and Hector Bye, Inc., 1979.
- Eburne, Richard. A Plaine - Pathway to Plantations. Reprinted Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1962.
- Gilbert, Thomas. "Observations upon the Orders and Resolutions of the House of Commons with respect to the Poor, Vagrants, and Houses of Correction". (1775).
- "Governor Gower's Message, 10 January 1833". The Newfoundlander, 17 January 1833.
- "A Letter from John Guy to Sir Percival Willoughby" 6 October 1610. D. Quinn. New American World. New York: Arno Press and Hector Bye, Inc., 1979.
- Guy, John. "Reports on the First Winter and Spring". 11 May 1611. D. Quinn. New American World. New York: Arno Press and Hector Bye, Inc., 1979.
- Hayman, Robert. Qvodlibets (1628).
- A Proposition of Profitt and Honor (1628).
- Hayes, Edward. Narrative of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Voyage (1583). D. Quinn. New American World. New York: Arno Press and Hector Bye, Inc., 1979.
- "Kirke's Memorial on Newfoundland: Notes and Documents". Canadian Historical Review. Vol. 7. March, 1926, pp. 46-51.
- Locke, John. "An Essay Concerning Human Understanding". Edwin Burtt, ed. The English Philosophers from Bacon to Mill. New York, 1939.
- Mandeville, Bernard de. The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Public Benefits with an Essay on Charity and Charity Schools. (1732).

Mason, John. A Brief Discourse of the Newfoundland, 1620.

"Newfoundland, 1825: Some Historical Notes". St. John's: Notes of the Provincial Archives, n.d.

"Orphan Asylum School Room, 18 February 1828". The Royal Gazette. 4 March 1828.

"Governor Pallisser's Remarks on the present State and Management of the Newfoundland Fishery". 18 December 1765.

Potter, Robert. Observations on the Poor Laws, on the Present State of the Poor and on Houses of Industry. (1775).

"Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1832". The Times. 3 October 1832.

"Report of the St. John's Charity School Society, 14 July 1829". The Royal Gazette. 28 July 1829.

"Report of the St. John's Charity School Society, 17 October 1833". The Public Ledger. 25 October 1833.

"A Report of the State of the Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor of St. John's" From 31 July 1808 to 31 July 1809.

"A Report of the State of the Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor of St. John's" From 31 July 1810 to 31 July 1811.

"Report of the St. John's Factory Committee, 14 November 1835". The Royal Gazette. 1 December 1835.

"Testimony taken in Newfoundland in 1652: Notes and Documents". Canadian Historical Review. Vol. 9. No. 3. September, 1928, pp. 239-251.

"United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1704-1800". R. Lahey, ed. Mimeographed collection.

Vaughan, William (Orpheus Ionior). The Golden Fleece. London: Francis Williams, 1626.
Newlanders Cure. (1630).

Whitbourne, Richard. A Discourse and Discovery of New-Found-Land, 1620. Reprinted New York: Da Capo Press, 1971.

Whitburn, T., ed. Westward Hoe for Avalon In the Newfoundland As Described By Captain Whitbourne, of Exmouth, Devon, 1622. London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1870.

Government Documents

Great Britain Statutes at Large, 5 Elizabeth, Cap. IV, An Act Containing Divers orders for artificers, labourers, servants, husbandry and apprentices, 1562/63.

Newfoundland Company; Patent Rolls, 8 James I, pt. viii. C.T. Carr, ed. Select Charters of Trading Companies, A.D. 1530-1707. London: Seldon Society, 1913.

Western Charter of 1634. K. Matthews. Collection and Commentary on the Constitutional Laws of Seventeenth Century Newfoundland. St. John's, 1975.

A Grant of Newfoundland to the Marquis Hamilton, Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Holland and Sir David Kirke and their Heirs, 13 November 1637. K. Matthews. Collection and Commentary on the Constitutional Laws of Seventeenth Century Newfoundland. St. John's, 1975.

An Order Concerning the Amendment and Addition of certain clauses to the Western Charter, 10 March 1670/71. K. Matthews. Collection and Commentary on the Constitutional Laws of Seventeenth Century Newfoundland. St. John's, 1975.

Western Charter of 1675/76. K. Matthews. Collection and Commentary on the Constitutional Laws of Seventeenth Century Newfoundland. St. John's, 1975.

Imperial Act 10 and 11 William III, Cap. 25, An Act to Encourage the Trade to Newfoundland. K. Matthews. Collection and Commentary on the Constitutional Laws of Seventeenth Century Newfoundland. St. John's, 1975.

Great Britain Statutes at Large, 9 George I, Cap. VII, An Act for amehding the laws relating to the settlement, imployment and relief of the poor, 1722.

Great Britain Statutes at Large, 15 George III, Cap. XXIII, Palliser's Act.

Great Britain Statutes at Large, 5 George IV, Cap. 67, Judicature Act.

Great Britain Statutes at Large, 5 George IV, Cap. 51, Fisheries Act.

Great Britain Statutes at Large, 5 George IV, Cap. 68, Marriage Act.

Commons Journals, 8 - 9 Martii A. 1715, p. 396, Cap. XVIII, p.3.

CO 1/35 - Newfoundland, A List of the Planter's Names, etc. (1675).

CO 1/38 - The Names of the English Inhabitants with the number of their boats, men, wives, & children. (1676).

CO 194/21.

CO 194/23.

CO 194/32.

CO 194/66, A Report of the State of Newfoundland, 1822.

Newfoundland GN 5/4 B, Northern District Court Records (1753-1774).

Newfoundland GN 2/1/10, Governor Campbell's instructions to the Magistrates (1784).

Books

Anspach, Lewis. A History of the Island of Newfoundland. London, 1819.

Bi-centennial History Committee. The Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's, 1775-1975. St. John's, 1975.

Bowles, S. and H. Gintis. Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradiction of Economic Life. New York, 1976.

Cell, Gillian T. English Enterprise in Newfoundland, 1577-1660. Toronto, 1969.

Chambers, J.D. Population, Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial England. London, 1972.

Clarke, W.K. Lowther. A History of the S.P.C.K. London, 1959.

Clough, Shepard, et.al. A History of the Western World: Early Modern Times. Boston, 1964.

Davies, Margarte Gay. The Enforcement of English Apprenticeship: A Study in Applied Mercantilism, 1563-1642. Massachusetts, 1956.

Dean, John Ward, ed. Captain John Mason, the Founder of New Hampshire. New York, 1967.

Frantz, R.W. The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas, 1660-1732. Nebraska, 1967.

Gay, Peter. The Enlightenment: An Interpretation. New York, 1969.

George, M.Dorothy. London Life in the Eighteenth Century. London, 1925, Reprinted, 1951.

England in Transition: Life and Work in the Eighteenth Century. London, 1931.

Gunn, Gertrude. The Political History of Newfoundland, 1832-1864. Toronto, 1966.

- Hammond, J.L. and Barbara Hammond. The Rise of Modern Industry. London, 1925, Reprinted, 1951.
- Head, C. Grant. Eighteenth Century Newfoundland. Ottawa, 1976.
- Hill, Christopher. Reformation to Industrial Revolution: A Social and Economic History of Britain, 1530-1780. London, 1967.
- Howley, M.F. Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland. Belleville, Ontario, 1888, Reprinted, 1979.
- Jones, J.R. Britain and Europe in the Seventeenth Century. London, 1966.
- Laslett, Peter. The world we have lost. London, 1965, Reprinted, 1971.
- Lawson, John. Mediaeval Education and the Reformation. London, 1967.
- Lively, J. The Enlightenment. London, 1966.
- Macpherson, C.B. The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism. London, 1962.
- Mannion, John J., Ed. The Peopling of Newfoundland. St. John's, 1977.
- Martin, Wilfred and Allan Macdonell. Canadian Education: A Sociological Analysis. Scarborough, Ontario, 1978.
- McIntock, A.H. The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland, 1783-1832. London, 1941.
- Mehl, Roger. The Sociology of Protestantism. London, 1970.
- Midwinter, Eric. Nineteenth Century Education. London, 1970.
- Mumford, Lewis. Technics and Civilization. New York, 1934.
- Neill, Stephen. Christian Missions. Baltimore, 1964.
- O'Neill, Paul. A Seaport Legacy. Erin, Ontario, 1976.
- Pascoe, C.F. Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.. London, 1901.
- Pinchbeck, Ivy and Margaret Hewitt. Children in English Society, Vol. I, From Tudor Times to the Eighteenth Century. Toronto, 1969.
- _____. Children in English Society, Vol. II, From the Eighteenth Century to the Children Act, 1948. Toronto, 1969.
- Prowse, D.W. A History of Newfoundland from the English Colonial and Foreign Records. St. John's, Reprinted 1971.
- Quinn, David Beers. New American World. New York, 1979.

- Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, London, 1940.
- Rowe, F.W. The Development of Education in Newfoundland, Toronto, 1964.
- Samson, Hillel. Sir Humphrey Gilbert: A Record & A Surmise, London, 1921.
- Seybolt, Robert F. Apprenticeship & Apprenticeship Education in Colonial New England & New York, New York, 1917.
- Silver, Harold. English Education and the Radicals, 1780-1850, London, 1975.
- The Concept of Popular Education, London, 1965.
- Simon, Joan. Education and Society in Tudor England, Cambridge, 1966.
- The Social Origins of English Education, London, 1970.
- Spring, Joel. A Primer of Libertarian Education, Montreal, 1975.
- Thompson, H.P. Into All Lands, London, 1951.
- Wardle, David. English Popular Education, 1780-1975, Cambridge, 1976.
- Weber, Max. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, New York, 1958.
- Theory of Social and Economic Organization, New York, 1947. Reprinted, 1964.
- Wright, Louis B. Religion and Empire, Chapel Hill, 1943.

Articles

- Christensen, Ruth M. "The Establishment of S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland, 1703-1783," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Vol. XX, No. 2., June, 1951.
- Coakley, Thomas. "George Calvert and Newfoundland: The Sad Face of Winter," Maryland Historical Magazine, No. 71, Spring, 1976, pp. 1-18.
- Hamilton, William B. "Society and Schools in Newfoundland," Canadian Education: A History, J.D. Wilson, R.M. Stamp, and L-P. Audet, eds. Scarborough, 1970.

- Handcock, W.G. "English Migration to Newfoundland," The Peopling of Newfoundland, J. Mannion, ed. St. John's, 1977.
- Hay, Douglas. "Property, Authority and the Criminal Law," Aiblon's Fatal Tree, Douglas Hay, ed. New York, 1975.
- Head, C. Grant. "The Establishment of Year-round Settlement at Newfoundland," International Geography, No. PO 516, 1972, pp. 425-427.
- Lahey, Raymond, J. "The Role of Religion in Lord Baltimore's Colonial Enterprise," Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. 72, No. 4., Winter, 1977.
- McCulloch, Samuel C. "The Foundation and Early Work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Vol. XX, No. 2, June, 1951.
- Murray, Myles P. "Forgotten Ferryland," The Newfoundland Quarterly, September, 1954, pp. 7-54.
- Prys-Jones, A.G. "Lord of Poor Cambrlo!" Country Life, Vol. 5, No. 3., Winter, 1964, pp. 53-57.
- Quinn, David B. "The First Pilgrims," William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. 23, No. 3., July, 1966, pp. 359 - 390.
- Staveley, Michael. "Population Dynamics in Newfoundland: The Regional Patterns," The Peopling of Newfoundland, J. Mannion, ed. St. John's, 1977.
- Thompson, Craig R. "Schools in Tudor England," Life and Letters in Tudor and Stuart England, L.B. Wright and Virginia A LaMar, eds. New York, 1962, pp. 287 - 319.
- Whiteway, Louise. "The S.P.G.: Its Work in Newfoundland," The Newfoundland Quarterly, Vol. 75, No. 4., Winter, 1980.

Unpublished Theses

- Barnes, Arthur. "The History of Education in Newfoundland." Unpublished Doctor of Pedagogy Thesis, New York University, New York, 1917.
- Handcock, W.G. "An Historical Geography of the Origins of English Settlement in Newfoundland: A Study of the Migration Process." Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Birmingham, Birmingham, 1979.
- Parsons, Jacob. "The Origin and Growth of Newfoundland Methodism, 1765-1855." Unpublished Master's Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, 1963.

Velitch, Noel. "The Contribution of the Benevolent Irish Society to Education in Newfoundland from 1823-1875." Unpublished Master's Thesis, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, 1965.

Unpublished Papers

Earle, Allison. "From the Governor's Returns: Showing Distribution of Roman Catholics and Protestants in Various Communities." Unpublished typescript. St. John's, n.d.

English, Christopher. "The Development of Denominational Education in Newfoundland, 1800-1970." Unpublished typescript. St. John's, 1975.

Lahey, Raymond J. "Religion and Politics in Newfoundland: the Antecedents of the General Election of 1832." Unpublished typescript. St. John's, 1979.

_____. "Church Affairs During the French Settlement at Placentia, 1662-1774." Unpublished typescript. St. John's, 1972.

Matthews, Keith. Lectures on the History of Newfoundland. Unpublished typescript. St. John's, 1973.

_____. Collection and Commentary on the Constitutional Laws of Seventeenth Century Newfoundland. Unpublished typescript. St. John's, 1975.

McCarthy, M. "A History of Plaisance and Placentia, 1501-1970." Unpublished typescript. St. John's, 1973.

McCann, W.P. "The Newfoundland School Society, 1823-1836." Unpublished typescript. St. John's, 1972.

Pomfret, Alan. "Historical School Change in a Peripheral Society: A Working Paper on Newfoundland." St. John's, 1977.

Newspapers

The Newfoundlander, October 3, 1827 - October 23, 1834.

The Royal Gazette, April 19, 1810 - December, 1836.

The Public Ledger, January 5, 1827 - September 1, 1835.

The Times and General Commercial Gazette, September 5, 1832 - June 22, 1836.

Miscellaneous

Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. I.

"Apprenticeship and Employee Training", Encyclopaedia Britannica (15th ed.), Vol. I, pp. 1019-1023.

Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language. New York, 1963.

Handcock, W.G. ("The English Seasonal Migrations to Newfoundland," The Peopling of Newfoundland. W.G. Handcock and John Mannion. CBC Radio Broadcasts. St. John's, 1977.

_____. "Social Origins of the English," The Peopling of Newfoundland W.G. Handcock and John Mannion. CBC Radio Broadcasts. St. John's, 1977.

_____. "The Role of the Merchants : England," The Peopling of Newfoundland. W.G. Handcock and John Mannion. CBC Radio Broadcasts. St. John's, 1977.

_____. "English Emigration and Formation of Permanent Settlements in Newfoundland," The Peopling of Newfoundland. W.G. Handcock and John Mannion. CBC Radio Broadcasts. St. John's, 1977.

Mannion, John. "The Irish Migratory Cod Fishery," The Peopling of Newfoundland. W.G. Handcock and John Mannion. CBC Radio Broadcasts. St. John's, 1977.

_____. "Irish Immigrants in Newfoundland," The Peopling of Newfoundland. W.G. Handcock and John Mannion. CBC Radio Broadcasts. St. John's, 1977.

_____. "Social Origins of the Irish," The Peopling of Newfoundland. W.G. Handcock and John Mannion. CBC Radio Broadcasts. St. John's, 1977.

APPENDIX A #

Gilbert signed a pair of discourses written in another hand, 6 November 1577, which suggest "How Her Majestie May Annoy The King of Spayne". Stated most emphatically in the first is that "the safety of Principates, Monarchies, and Common Weales rest chiefly in making theire enemies weake, and poore, and themselves strong and rich ... First your highnes owght undoubtedly to seeke the kingdom of heaven ... Christian princes ought not for any respect to combyne themselves to anytie, wth such as are at open and professed warres with god himselfe, ... no state or common weale can florische, where the first and principall care is not for goddes glorie, and for thadvansing of the pollicies of his spirituall kingdom...". The discourse goes on to suggest the weakening of Spain's navy either by open hostility or by "some colorable means; as by geving of lycence under letters patents to discover and inhabyte some strange place ..." and under this guise, arm the ships of discovery and have them destroy the foreign ships. The author holds it "as lawfull in christen pollicie, to prevent a mischief betime: as to revenge to late, especiaillie selng that god him selfe is a party in the common quarrelles now a foote ...".

In the second discourse the nature of the quarrels is spelled out. "It is most certain and true that the king of Spaine is whollie addicted to the Pope and is the chiefe mayntainer of the Romish religion and so hath sworne divers and sundry tymes to mayntayne the Church of Rome to the uttermost of his power and thereby as enemye to all others that be not of the same religion ... wherefore so long as they be of that religion and we of ours there can be betwene us and them no good friendship."

D.B. Quinn, Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert (London, 1940), pp. 170-180.

APPENDIX B[#]

Imperial Act 10 and 11 William III, Cap. 25
An Act to Encourage the Trade to Newfoundland

"Whereas the Trade and Fishing at Newfoundland is a beneficial Trade to this Kingdom, not only in the employing of great numbers of Seamen and Ships, and exporting and consuming great Quantities of Provisions and Manufactures of this Realm, whereby many Tradesmen and poor Artificers are kept at work, but also in bringing into this Nation, by Returns of the Effects of the said Fishery from other Countries, great Quantities of Wine, Oil, Plate, Iron, Wooll, and sundry other useful commodities, to the Increase of his Majesty's Revenue, and the Encouragement of Trade and Navigation; Be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That from henceforth it shall and may be lawful for all his Majesty's Subjects residing within his Realm of England, or the Dominions thereunto belonging, trading or that shall trade to Newfoundland, and the Seas, Rivers, Lakes, Creeks, Harbours in or about Newfoundland, or any of the Islands adjoining or adjacent thereunto, to have, use, and enjoy the free Trade and Traffick, and Act of Merchandize and Fishery, to and from Newfoundland and peaceably to have, use and enjoy the Freedom of taking Bait and Fishing in any of the Rivers, Lakes, Creeks, Harbours, or Roads, in or about Newfoundland, and the Said Seas, or any of the Islands adjacent thereunto, and Liberty to go on Shore on any part of Newfoundland, or any of the said Islands for the curing, salting, drying, and husbarding of their Fish, and for making of Oil, and to cut down Woods and Trees then for building and making or repairing of Stages, Ship-rooms, Trainfats, Hurdles, Ships, Boats, and other Necessaries for themselves and their Servants, seamen, and Fishermen, and all other Things which may be useful or advantageous to their Fishing Trade, as fully and freely as at any Time heretofore hath been used or enjoyed there by any of the Subjects of his Majesty's Royal Predecessors, without any Hindrance, Interruption, Denial or Disturbance of or from any Person or Persons whatsoever; and that no Alien or Stranger whatsoever (not residing within the Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, the Town of Berwick upon Tweed) shall at any Time hereafter take any Bait, or use any sort of Trade of Fishing whatsoever in Newfoundland, or in any of the said Islands or Places above mentioned.

II. And for the preserving the said Harbours from all Annoyances; no ballast, &c to be thrown out of any Ship into the Harbours, but carried on Shore.

III. No Person to destroy any stage or Cook Room, &c.

IV. Every Fishing Ship first entering Harbour, shall be Admiral during that Fishing Season, &c.

V. Persons who since 1685 have detained and Stage, Cook room, &c, shall relinquish the same to the publick Use of Fishing Ships, &c.

[#] Taken from the summary of the Act. K. Matthews. Collection and Commentary on the Constitutional Laws of Newfoundland (St. John's, 1975), pp. 202-218.

VI No Fishermen or Inhabitant of Newfoundland, to possess any Stage, &c, until all Fishing Ships be provided &c.

VII Provided that all such Persons who shall build after 1685 shall peaceably and quietly enjoy the same without disturbance of or from any Person or Persons.

VIII By-boat Keepers not to meddle with House, Stage, &c, belonging to any Fishing Ships.

IX And By-boat Masters to carry two fresh men in six. Inhabitants obliged to employ two such fresh men. Master of Fishing Ship to carry one Fresh man in five.

X Every master or owner of any fishing ship shall have in his Ship's Company every fifth Man a Green-man.

XI Marks of Boats or Train-fats not to be obliterated.

XII Standing trees not to be rinded, nor Woods fired; necessary fuel excepted; nor saynes or nets, balts, &c stolen.

XIII Robberies, &c, in Newfoundland may be tried in any Country in England by Commission of Oyer & Terminer.

XIV Admirals in Newfoundland to see the Rules, &c, in this Act executed, keep a Journal &c and deliver a copy thereof to the Privy Council.

XV Admirals to determine Differences between Masters of Fishing Ships and Inhabitants; the Party aggrieved may appeal to the Commanders of any of his Majesty's Ships.

XVI Inhabitants to observe the Lord's Day, and not sell and Liquor thereon.

XVII Whale Fins, Oil, and Blubber, Imported by Greenland Merchants, not liable to the Duty of 12d. per pound charged in the Tunnage Acts, nor for Whale Fins, &c taken in Newfoundland.

APPENDIX C#

A Select List of Clergy and Teachers in Newfoundland, 1697 - 1800.

Name	Dates of Service	Service	School	Church
St. John's				
John Jackson ¹	(1697-1702)	C		C of E
	(1703-1705)	SPG M		
Jacob Rice ¹	(1705-1712)	M/C		C of E
Charles Davis ¹	(1713-1719)	M		C of E
Thomas Phillips ¹	(1719-)	M		
John Fordyce ¹	(1730-1736)	SPG M		C of E
Walbank ⁶	(1742)	SPG M		C of E
Wm. Peaseley ⁶	(1743-1751)	SPG M/C/T	1744	C of E
Ed. Langman ^{1,4}	(1752-1783)	SPG M/C		C of E
four unnamed ⁴	(1762)	Priests		R.C.
Garnet	(1755)	T		Meth.
John Jones ^{2,11}	(1755-1800)	M/T	1785	Cong.
George Braca ^{2,11}	(1785-)	LR/T	1790	Cong.
James O'Donel ³	(1784-1806)	Priest		R.C.
Walter Price ⁴	(1785-1791)	SPG M/T	1789	C of E
one unnamed ⁴	(1789-)	Asst.T.	X	C of E
John Harris ⁴	(1791-18)	SPG M		C of E
Mich Hearn ¹¹	(1794-)	T		R.C.
Lewis Anspach ¹⁰	(1798-1801)	T	1798	C of E
one unnamed ¹⁰	(1798-1801)	Asst.T.	X	C of E
Lionel Chancey ^{4,11}	(1799-)	SPG M/T	X	C of E
Mrs. Chancey ¹¹	(1799-)	T	X	C of E
Carbonear				
Thomas Pottle	()	LR		Meth.
Arthur Thomey	()	LR		Meth.
John McGeary ⁵	(1785-1788)	M		Meth.
	(1790-1792)	M		
James Bulpitt ⁵	(1799-1806)	M		Meth.
Mrs. Bulpitt ⁵	(1799-1806)	T		Meth.

Name	Dates of Service	Service	School	Church
Old Perilcan				
John Hoskins ⁵	(1744-)	LR/T	1774	Meth.
Harbour Grace				
Mr. Ashburner	()	LR		
Lawr. Coughlan ^{4,5}	(1763-1767)	M/T		Meth.
	(1767-1773)	SPG M/T	1768	
Mr. Jenner ^{4,6}	(1768-1769)	SPG T	X	C of E
Mr. Thunney ⁴	(1769-1770)	SPG T	X	C of E
John Griggs ^{4,5}	(1771-1777)	SPG T	X	C of E
James Balfour ^{4,5}	(1773-1793)	SPG M	X	C of E
Ed Freeman ⁴	(1779)	SPG T	X	C of E
Geo. Fullilove ⁴	(1784-1785)	SPG T	X	C of E
Wm. Lampen ⁴	(1786-18)	SPG T	X	C of E
Chas. Jenner ⁴	(1795-1799)	SPG M		C of E
Patrick Phean ⁹	(1784-1799)	Ri. est		R.C.
Mr. Stretton	()	M		Meth.

*Reported C of E school in Carbonear and Portogrove (1783)⁴.

Trinity

John Moor ¹	(1720-1730)	LR		C of E
Rob. Kilpatrick ^{1,4}	(1730-1731)	SPG M/T		C of E
	(1734-1741)			
Henry Jones ¹	(1745-1747)	SPG M		C of E
Benj. Lindsay ⁴	(1750-1760)	SPG M/T		C of E
Henry Bennett ⁸	(17 -1758)	T		
James Balfour ⁴	(1764-1773)	SPG M/T		C of E
James Barker ⁴	(1783-1784)	SPG M		C of E
John Clinch ⁴	(1787-)	SPG M		C of E

Scilly Cove

Mr. Thomas ⁴	(1794-1795)	T		C of E
	(1796-)	SPG T		

Twilligate

John Hillyard ²	(1799-1801)	LMS M/T	1800	Cong.
----------------------------	-------------	---------	------	-------

Name	Dates of Service	Service	School	Church
Bonavista				
Henry Jones ^{1,4}	(1725-1744)	SPG M/T	1726	C of E
one unnamed ¹	(1726-)	T	X	
Wm Peaseley ^{1,4}	(1743-1745)	SPG M/T		C of E
Geo. Bemister ⁴	(1792-18)	SPG T	X	C of E
Geo. Smith ⁵	(1794-1797)	M/T	1796	Meth.
Ferryland				
Samuel Cole ⁴	(1793-1795)	SPG M		C of E
John Dingle ⁴	(1800-)	SPG M		C of E
Thomas Yore ³		Priest		R.C.
Placentia				
Jacob Rice ¹	(1713-)	C		
Cain ³	(1770-1776)	Priest		R.C.
Thomas Phillips ¹	(-)	M.		
Richard Cox ¹	(-)	C		
Edmond Bourke ³	(1786-1798)	Priest		R.C.
John Harris ⁴	(1789-1791)	SPG M		C of E
John Evans ⁴	(1791-)	SPG M		C of E
Burin				
Mr. Saunders ⁴	(1793-1794)	T		
	(1794-)	SPG T		
Miscellaneous				
Londregan ³		Priest		R.C.
(St. John's, Placentia, Fogo)				
Daily ³		Priest		R.C.
Power ³		Priest		R.C.
Mahoney ³		Priest		R.C.
Michael O'Donel ³	(1784-1806)	Priest		R.C.
George Smith ⁵	(1794-1797)	M	1796	Meth.
(Con. B., Tr. B., Bon. B.)				
Fitzpatrick ³		Priest		R.C.
John Whelan ³		Priest		R.C.

Key: Service: C - Chaplain; M - Minister; T - Teacher; LR - Lay Reader.

#Sources:

1. R. Christensen. "The Establishment of SPG Missions in Newfoundland".
2. Bi-centennial History Committee. The Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's, 1775-1975.
3. M. Howley. Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland.
4. R. Lahey. United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1704-1800.
5. J. Parsons. "The Origin and Growth of Newfoundland Methodism, 1765-1855".
6. C. Pascoe. Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.
7. D. Prowse. A History of Newfoundland.
8. GN 5/4 B Northern District Court Records (1753-1774).
9. R. Lahey. "Religion and Politics in Newfoundland: The Antecedents of the General Election of 1832".
10. L. Anspach. A History of the Island of Newfoundland.
11. P. O'Neill. A Seaport Legacy.

APPENDIX D[#] *

Schools Advertised in St. John's Newspapers, 1810-1835

Date of Ad.	Paper	Students	Other Information
Adult School			
3 Dec. 1834	T	A	Reading, Writing, Arithmetic
Mr. Allen			
"Dancing School"			
14 Feb. 1832	PL		To open Feb. 15.
23 Feb. 1832	N		Classes Mon., Wed., Fri. evenings.
30 Mar. 1832	PL	YL, YG	Re-opens 4 April.
5 Apr. 1832	N	(10-15 yrs.)	10-15 yrs. - Tu. and Th. evenings; over 15 yrs. Fri. evenings; Quadrilles and Country Dances.
Joseph Bacon			
"Boarding and Day School"			
14 Jan. 1831	PL	YL, YG	Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography, History, Music.
19 Apr. 1831	PL		School opens 9 May 1831.
George Benton			
"School"			
20 Dec. 1810	G	20-25 children	Reading, Writing, Arithmetic.
A.B.			
"School"			
27 Aug. 1834	T		Bookkeeping

Key: G- The Royal Gazette T- The Times
 PL- The Public Ledger N- The Newfoundlander
 YL- Young Ladies YG- Young Gentlemen A- Adults

* Schools listed in alphabetical order by teacher.

Date of Ad.	Paper	Students	Other Information
Antony Beyer			
"Musical Academy"			
15 Nov. 1831	G		To open 1st Dec.
24 Nov. 1831	N		Classes of Piano-forte.
12 Jun. 1832	G		School in progress.
14 Jun. 1832	N		
4 Sept. 1832	G		Violin, Tenor Violin, Violincello, Double Bass, Guitar, Flute, Clarionett, Hautboy, Royal Kent Bugle, French Horn, Trumpet, Bassoon, Bass Horn, Serpent, Trombone.
(Benjamin Bowring -secretary)			
"Classical Seminary"			
18 Oct. 1831	PL		Organizational meeting postponed.
30 Oct. 1831	PL		Request for a builder for a school room.
4 Dec. 1831	PL		Meeting of organizers.
Mr. Bray			
"Harbour Grace Seminary"			
11 May 1827	PL	YG	Room for more boarders; English Grammar, composition, Orthoepey, Stenography, Geography, Globes, History, Book-keeping, Elementary Mathematics, Belles Lettres, Theology, Logic, Moral Sciences.
Mr. Campbell			
"Mr. Campbell's School"			
27 Aug. 1829	N		Re-opens 31 Aug.
7 Jan. 1830	N		Night school opens 4 Jan.; English and French Grammar.
30 Jul. 1830	N		Mr. Campbell takes over Mr. Marshall's School.

Date of Ad.	Paper	Students	Other Information
30 Dec. 1830	N		Re-opens 9 January.
14 Jan. 1831	PL	30 students	Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Grammar, French, Seamen taught charts and quadrants.
12 Jul. 1831	PL		Examinations announced.
12 Jul. 1832	PL		Re-opens 23 July.
9 Jul. 1833	PL		Latin will be taught.
6 May 1835	T		Assistant hired.
Mrs. Cleare			
"School"			
19 Jul. 1810	G	YL	To open 1 August; Reading, Spelling, Plain, Sampler and Ornamental Work.
Richard Coyle			
"Evening School"			
14 Nov. 1811	G	Youth	To open 20 November; Bookkeeping, Mensuration, Navigation, Surveying.
Richard Coyle			
"School"			
6 May 1817	G	Youth	New location; business edu- cation.
Mrs. Coyle			
"School"			
6 May 1817	G	YL	Reading, English Grammar; Geography, Plain and Fancy work, Drawing and Painting.
James Crosby			
"Writing School"			
28 Oct. 1831	PL	A	To open 31 October; Writing and Arithmetic.
13 Apr. 1832	PL		Day school to open 1 May; Spelling, Reading, English, Grammar, Geography, Writing, Arithmetic, Bookkeeping.

Date of Ad.	Paper	Students	Other Information
Monsieur De Vincent			
"Dancing School"			
23 Apr. 1834	T	YL, YG	Quadrilles, Lancers, Waltzes, Gallopades.
Robert Dickson			
20 Jun. 1834	PL	YL, YG	English Grammar Lectures to be given.
27 Aug. 1834	T		Lectures begin.
24 Sept. 1834	T		Public invited to observe.
3 Oct. 1834	PL		4th Series begin 6 Oct.
31 Oct. 1834	PL		5th Series begin 3 Nov. and 10 Nov.
28 Nov. 1834	PL		6th Series begin 1 Dec.
25 Feb. 1835	T		9th Series begin.
John Dorney			
"School"			
7 May 1812	G	YL, YG	To open 1 June; Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Mensuration, Surveying, Navigation, Gauging, Bookkeeping, Euclid's Elements, English Grammar.
Mr. Eagar			
8 Oct. 1829	N	YL, YG	Landscape painting.
3 Jan. 1832	G		Drawing and Painting.
3 Jan. 1832	PL		"
5 Jan. 1832	N		"
29 Jun. 1832	PL		Landscape painting.
Rev. Henry James Fitzgerald			
3 Mar. 1832	G		Classics, Mathematics, polite education.
15 Mar. 1832	N		"

Date of Ad.	Paper	Students	Other Information
Mr. D. E. Gilmour			
"Carbonear Academy"			
27 Jun. 1832	PL	YG	Boarders accomodated; Grammar, Geography, History, Arithmetic, Mathematics.
Edward James Gleesen			
"Mercantile and Writing School"			
23 Oct. 1827	PL	Older Youth	To open 5 November.
24 Oct. 1827	N		Reading, Writing, Mercantile Arithmetic, English Grammar, Bookkeeping.
5 Feb. 1829	N	Primary	Reading, Writing, English Grammar, CIPHERING.
29 Apr. 1830	N		Re-opens 3 May.
1 Sept. 1831	N		Re-opens 4 September.
9 May 1833	N		3 or 4 boarders accomodated.
22 May 1833	T		
20 Nov. 1833	T		Will open a night school.
Nathan Graham			
"School and Evening School"			
29 Oct. 1812	G	YL, YG	To open 2 November; Reading, Writing, English Grammar, Arithmetic; Mrs. Graham will teach young ladies plain and fancy work.
14 Oct. 1813	G		Re-opens 15 November.
17 Nov. 1814	G		Night school re-opens 21 Nov.
19 Nov. 1816	G	Youth	School re-opens.
15 Apr. 1817			Fees posted.
Miss Grave			
"School"			
7 Apr. 1814	G	YL	Boarders taken; Reading, Writing, English Grammar, Geography, Needlework.

Date of Ad. Paper Students Other Information

John Hamilton

"School"

22 Sept 1831 N

Elocution, English Grammar,
Geography, Globes, Trigonometry,
Navigation, Mensuration,
Surveying, Euclid's Elements,
Bookkeeping, Arithmetic.

Messrs Harris and Stewart

"Riding School"

13 Aug. 1829 N

Mr. Stewart opens a riding school.

16 Oct. 1829 PL A

Riding and Managing horses.

Elizabeth Haye

"Seminary"

3 Jan. 1832 G

Re-opens at a new location.

George T. Haye

"School"

7 Oct. 1817 G Youth

Reading, Writing, Arithmetic,
English Grammar, Bookkeeping.

21 Oct. 1817 G

School to open 21 Oct.

Edward M. Heal

"Seminary of Learning"

21 Oct. 1813 G YG

To open 25 October. Most necessary
and useful branches of
education.

YL

Mrs. Heal and daughters teach
Needlework.

28 Oct. 1813 G

Preparation for domestic trade
and public offices; Mrs. Heal
opens a separate school for
young ladies.

27 Oct. 1814 G YL and YG
under 8.

"King's Place Seminary"

13 Aug. 1816 G

Mr. Heal is otherwise employed.

Date of Ad.	Paper	Students	Other Information
Michael Howlett "St. John's Academy" 9 Sept. 1817	G		To open 15 September. Greek, Latin, French, English, Mathematics, Globes, Geography, History, Accounts, Arithmetic.
Messrs Hughes and Graham "School" 11 Jun. 1812	G	children	English Grammar, Writing, Arithmetic, Bookkeeping. Mrs. Hughes will teach plain and fancy work to the girls.
Mrs. Hule "School" 5 Jan. 1827	PL	YL	Re-opens school.
27 Apr. 1827	PL	YL	Re-opens 7 May.
Robert Jamison "Classical and Scientific Seminary" 26 Aug. 1831	PL		To open 1 September. Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Geography, English Grammar, Composition, Elocution, Reading, Recitation, Science.
Mrs. and Miss Kean "Dancing Academy" 3 May 1833	PL		To open 7 May.
Nicholas Latour "Dancing School" 14 Nov. 1811	G	children	Public and private dancing lessons.
		YG	German Flute, Fencing.
13 Aug. 1812	G		"Student Ball".
7 Apr. 1814	G		Re-opens 1 May. Dancing, Fencing, French.

Date of Ad.	Paper	Students	Other Information
22 Jun. 1815	G		School continues.
23 Jul. 1816	G		School re-opens.
19 Jan. 1827	PL	children	School re-opens
25 Dec. 1827	PL		School re-opens 1 Jan.
26 Dec. 1827	N		"
30 Oct. 1828	N		School re-opens 1 Nov.
12 Nov. 1829	N		School re-opens 20 Nov.
J. Long			
"Evening School"			
30 Oct. 1832	PL		To open 11 Nov.
Rev. J.G. Lowe			
"Academy"			
17 Nov. 1814	G	Youth	To open 25 Nov. Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Latin, Greek, Geography, Globes.
12 Jan. 1815	G	35 students	
Thomas Marshall			
"Seminary"			
11 Nov. 1813	G	YG	Reading, Writing, Orthography, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography.
30 Dec. 1813	G	YL	Re-opens school 3 January.
24 Sept. 1816	G		Continues school.
2 July 1829	N		Mr. Marshall is leaving Newfoundland after 20 years; Mr. Campbell is taking over the school.
Jeremiah McCarthy			
"School"			
8 Oct. 1816	G		School has opened; Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, English Grammar, Euclid's Elements, Mensuration, Algebra, Navigation.

Date of Ad.	Paper	Students	Other Information
W. Macleod			
"Evening School"			
22 Nov. 1810	G		To open 4 December; Navigation, Bookkeeping, Mensuration, Surveying, Euclid's Elements.
7 May 1812	G		Mr. Macleod is retiring due to ill health after teaching eight years.
Mr. McDonald			
27 Oct. 1829	PL	A	Day and evening classes.
29 Oct. 1829	N		Penmanship.
Misses Morris			
31 Dec. 1833		YL	To open 6 January; Boarders and day students; a modern and genteel education.
Misses Newman			
"Seminary for Young Ladies"			
20 Nov. 1828	N	YL	To open.
25 Nov. 1828	PL		"
9 Dec. 1828	G		Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography, Needlework, Music, Dancing, Japanning, French.
Mr. Nugent			
"Academy"			
6 Jun. 1833	N	YG	Opens 10 June (17 June) at a new location.
7 Jun. 1833	PL		
12 Jun. 1833	T		Greek, Latin, Italian, French, English, Mathematics, History, Geography, Writing, Arithmetic, Bookkeeping.

Date of Ad.	Paper	Students	Other Information
24 Oct. 1833	N		Moved to a new location.
30 Oct. 1833	T		"
31 Dec. 1833	G		School re-opens 7 January.
2 Jan. 1834	N		"
1 Apr. 1834	G		Boarders accommodated.
3 Apr. 1834	N		"
Mrs. Nugent			
"School"			
7 Jun. 1833	T	YL	Music taught by Miss Nugent and Miss Creedon.
12 Jun. 1833	PL		"
31 Dec. 1833	G		School re-opens 7 January.
1 Apr. 1834	G		French, English; Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, Needle-work, Wax-works, Oriental Tinting, Mezzotinto, Transferring, Mother of Pearl and Satin Wood Enlaying.
3 Apr. 1834	N		
Paul Phillips			
"Newfoundland Seminary"			
19 Apr. 1810	G		"Summer classes".
24 May 1810	G		New assistant hired.
13 Sept. 1810	G		Examinations held.
11 Oct. 1810	G		Names of students examined.
6 Dec. 1810	G		Closing school due to Phillips's illness.
James Putlock			
4 May 1830	G		Piano-forte, Flute, Single and double Flageolets, French Horn, Key'd Bugle.
4 May 1830	PL		
6 May 1830	N		
William Quin			
"Night School"			
4 Nov. 1813	G		To open 15 November.

Date of Ad. Paper Students Other Information

Mr. Roger

"Classical School"

28 Jun. 1832	N	YG	Re-opens 27 June.
29 Jun. 1832	PL		"
8 Jul. 1834	PL		Re-opens 10 July; new assistant, Mr. Gould.
1 Sept 1835	PL		Room for 3 new boarders.

John Ryan

"Grammar School"

29 Oct. 1812	G	Youth	To open 2 November; Reading, Writing, Latin, Arithmetic, Bookkeeping, Navigation, Mensuration, Surveying, Gauging.
17 Nov. 1814	G		To open 21 November.

Rev. James Sabine

30 Sept 1817	G		Will reduce his teaching to private tuition.
--------------	---	--	--

Henry Simms

"Boarding and Day School"

19 Dec. 1827	N		Private tuition.
12 Feb. 1829	N		Plans to open an English, Mercantile and Mathematical School in May.
13 Feb. 1829	PL		School opens 4 May.
30 Apr. 1829	N		Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, History, Geography, Mathematics.
1 May 1829	PL		
24 Jun. 1839	N		Private tuition Mon., Wed., and Fri. evenings.
26 Oct. 1830	PL	YG	Boarding school opens.
28 Oct. 1830	N		Evening school opens.
28 Oct. 1831	PL		Examinations held.
3 Nov. 1831	N		Examinations held.

Date of Ad.	Paper	Students	Other Information
8 Nov. 1831	PL		Evening school re-opens 14 November.
10 Nov. 1831	N		
13 Dec. 1832	N		Evening school re-opens 17 December.
14 Dec. 1832	PL		
22 May 1833	T		Business education offered.
23 May 1833	N		Openings for 4 boarders and 5 day students.
24 May 1833	PL		
2 Dec. 1835	T		Evening school opens.

Mrs. Spry
"School"

2 Jul. 1812	G	Young children	To open 24 July; Reading, Writing, Plain sewing.
-------------	---	----------------	--

John Sullivan
"School"

17 Oct. 1811	G		Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English, Bookkeeping, Mensuration, Navigation, Dialing, Gauging, Surveying, Geography, Globes, Geometry, Gunnery, Fortification, Mechanics, Astronomy, Algebra, Fluxions.
14 Nov. 1811	G		School to open 18 November.
18 Jun. 1812	G		School continues.
22 Oct. 1812	G		"Commercial and Mathematical School".
8 Jul. 1813	G		School continues.
22 Jun. 1815	G		School continues; has added Mr. Coyle's equipment.

Murty Sullivan
"School"

16 Mar. 1815	G	Youth	To open 13 March; Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Bookkeeping, Geography, Navigation, Mensuration, Geometry.
--------------	---	-------	---

Date of Ad.	Paper	Students	Other Information
Miss Sutton			
"School"			
30 Sept 1813	G	children	To open 20 October; Writing, Reading, Spelling, Sewing.
28 Oct. 1813	G		School is open.
Misses Warren and Tong			
"School"			
11 Dec. 1829	PL		Announcement of a new seminary to open 1 January.
18 May 1830	PL		Miss Warren leaves the seminary.
21 Dec. 1830	PL	YL	Miss Amella Warren's School re-opens 11 January.
21 Jun. 1831	PL		School re-opens 18 July.
13 Sept 1831	PL		Can accomodate 8 - 10 boarders.
3 Jan. 1832	PL		School re-opens 16 January.
3 Jul. 1832	PL		School re-opens 18 July.
8 Jan. 1833	PL		School re-opens 17 January.
15 July 1834	PL		School re-opens 28 July; "Beaulieu Establishment"
9 Jan. 1835	PL		School re-opens 19 January.
3 Jul. 1835	PL		School re-opens 20 July.

APPENDIX E

Instruction Advertised in St. John's Newspapers, 1810 - 1835[#]

Date of Ad.	Paper	Tutor	Instruction
27 Dec. 1810	G	James Upjohn	Violin
10 Jan. 1811	G	Paul Phillips	Private tuition
28 July 1814	G	Dr. W. Carson	Medical
14 Dec. 1815	G	unnamed	French, Italian, Spanish
21 Jan. 1817	G	John Meallan	Spanish
7 Oct. 1817	G	James Sabine	Geography, Globes, Map Drawing, Natural Philosophy
3 Oct. 1827	N	Michael O'Dwyer Thomas O'Dwyer Anthony O'Dwyer	Flute, Violin, Clarinet
19 Dec. 1827	N	Henry Simms	Useful sciences
4 Jan. 1828	PL	Thomas Codner	Navigation, Mathematics
16 Dec. 1828	PL	Thomas Codner	Navigation, Mathematics
21 June 1832	N	Mr. Stanistreet Mrs. McCarthy	Piano-forte
19 Aug. 1834	PL	Miss Stacey	Piano-forte
25 Nov. 1834	PL	Captain Boig	Navigation
17 Dec. 1834	T	Joseph Bacon	Violin, German Flute

Key: G - The Royal Gazette T - The Times
PL - The Public Ledger N - The Newfoundlander

